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George Paterson of Castle Huntly Esqr.

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MEMOIRS.

PART III.

From the
PEACE concluded 1679.
TO THE
Time of the Author's Retirement from Publick Buſineſs.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Baronet.*

Et Ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recuſavit. Plin. Epiſt. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1.

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ANCHOR FAST ANCHOR
The Right Honble The Lord Gray
1708

THE PREFACE.

IT was perfectly in complyance to ſome Perſons for whoſe Opinion I have great Deference, that I ſo long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They ſeem'd to think, that the Freedom of Paſſages in theſe Memoirs, might give Offence to ſeveral who were ſtill alive; and whoſe Part in thoſe Affairs which are here related, could not be tranſmitted to Poſterity with any Advantage to their

Reputation. But, whether this Objection be in it ſelf of much Weight, may perhaps be Diſputed; at leaſt it ſhould have little with me, who am under no Reſtraint in that Particular; Since I am not of an Age to remember thoſe Tranſactions, nor had any Acquaintance with thoſe Perſons whoſe Counſels or Proceedings are Condemn'd, and who are all of them now Dead.

BUT, as this Author is very free in expoſing the Weakneſs and Corruptions of ill Miniſters, ſo he is as ready to commend the Abi-

Abilities and Virtue of others, as may be obſerv'd from ſeveral Paſſages of theſe Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, *with whom the Author continu'd in the moſt intimate Friendſhip to his Death; and who was Father of that moſt learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: As likewiſe, of the preſent Earl of* Rocheſter; *and the Earl of* Godolphin, *now Lord Treaſurer, repreſented by this impartial Author, as a Perſon at that time deſervedly entruſted with ſo great a*

Part in the Prime Miniſtry; an Office he now Executes again with ſuch univerſal Applauſe, ſo much to the Queen's Honour and his own, and to the Advantage of his Country, as well as of the whole Confederacy.

THERE are two Objections I have ſometimes heard to have been offer'd againſt thoſe Memoirs that were Printed in the Author's Life time, and which theſe now Publiſh'd may perhaps be equally liable to. Firſt, as to the Matter; that the Author ſpeaks too much of himſelf: Next, as to the Style;

Style; that he affects the Use of French *Words, as well as some Turns of Expression peculiar to that Language.*

I believe, those who make the former Criticism, do not well consider the Nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of Writing; and Sir William Temple *is not only the first, but I think the only English-man (at least of any Consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French Memoirs are writ by such Persons as were the Principal Actors in those Transactions they pretend to relate, whether of*

Wars or Negotiations. Thoſe of Sir William Temple *are of the ſame Nature; and therefore, in my Judgment, the Publiſher (who ſent them into the World without the Author's Privity) gave them a wrong Title, when he call'd them* Memoirs of what paſs'd in Chriſtendom, &c. *whereas it ſhould rather have been,* Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen, *which was plainly the Sence of the Author, who in the Epiſtle tells his Son, that* in Compliance with his Deſire, he will leave him ſome Memoirs of what paſs'd in his publick Employments

A-

Abroad; *And in the Book it ſelf, when he Deduces an Account of the State of War in* Chriſtendom, *he ſays it is only to prepare the Reader for a Relation of that famous Treaty; where he and Sir* Lionel Jenkins, *were the only Mediators that continu'd any conſiderable Time; and as the Author was firſt in Commiſſion, ſo in Point of Abilities or Credit, either Abroad or at Home, there was no ſort of Compariſon between the Two Perſons. Thoſe Memoirs therefore are properly a Relation of a General Treaty of Peace, wherein the Author had the Principal, as well*

well as the most Honourable part, in Quality of Mediator; so that the frequent Mention of himself, seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offer'd in Defence of the following papers; because, during the greatest part of the Period they treat of, the Author was in chief Confidence with the King his Master. To which it may be added, That in the few Preliminary Lines at the Head of the first Page, the Author professes he writ those Papers for the Satisfaction of his Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of his Retirement,

and

and his Reſolution never to meddle again with publick Affairs.

As to the Objection againſt the Style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French *Words and Turns of Expreſſion; it is to be conſider'd, that as the Treaty of* Nimeguen, *all Buſineſs, either by Writing or Diſcourſe, paſs'd in the* French *Tongue; and the Author having liv'd ſo many Years abroad in that and former Ambaſſys, where all Buſineſs, as well as Converſation, ran in that Language, it was hardly poſſible for him to write upon publick Af-*

Affairs without ſome Tincture of it in his Style; tho' in his other Writings, there be little or nothing of it to be obſerv'd: And as he has often aſſur'd me it was a Thing he never affected; ſo upon the Objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out ſome French *Words in theſe, and plac'd* Engliſh *in their ſtead, tho' perhaps not ſo ſignificant.*

THERE is one thing proper to inform the Reader, why theſe Memoirs are call'd the Third Part, *there having never been publiſh'd but one Part before, where in the Beginning, the Author mentions*

tions a former Part, and in the Concluſion promiſes a Third. The Subject of the Firſt Part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the Negotiation of which my Lord Arlington *was Secretary of State and chief Miniſter: Sir* William Temple *often aſſur'd me, he had burnt thoſe Memoirs; and for that Reaſon was content his Letters, during his Ambaſſies at the* Hague *and* Aix la Chapelle, *ſhould be Printed after his Death, in ſome manner to ſupply that Loſs.*

WHAT it was that mov'd Sir William Temple *to burn thoſe firſt Memoirs, may*

may perhaps be conjectur'd from ſome Paſſages in the Second Part formerly Printed: In one Place the Author has theſe Words, My Lord *Arlington,* who made ſo great a Figure in the former Part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit, *&c. In other Parts he tells us, That Lord was of the Miniſtry which broke the Triple League; adviſ'd the* Dutch *War and* French *Alliance; and in ſhort, was at the bottom of all thoſe Ruinous Meaſures which the* Court *of* England *was then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a good*

good Hand; and as it ſeems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Perſon fit to be celebrated for his Part in forwarding that famous League while he was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch Counterpaces to deſtroy it. At the End I have ſubjoyn'd an Appendix, containing beſides one or two other Particulars, a Speech of Sir William Temple's *in the Houſe of Commons, and an Anſwer of the King's to an Addreſs of that Houſe, relating to the Bill of Excluſion, both which are mention'd in theſe Memoirs.*

I have only further to inform the Reader, that altho' these Papers were Corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to insert some Additions in several Places, as appear'd by certain Hints or Memorandums in the Margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of Health, I cannot determine: One Passage relating to Sir William Jones *he was pleas'd to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the Thread of the Story is intire without 'em.*

JONATHAN SWIFT.

ME-

MEMOIRS.

PART. III.

Written for the Satisfaction of my Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of my Retirement and Resolution never to meddle again with any Publick Affairs from this present February, 168°.

UPON my Return from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, after the Emperor's Ambassadors having Sign'd the Peace,

the King signified His Pleasure to me, by a Letter from my Lord * Treasurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's Office in Mr. COVENTRY's Room, according to the Resolution he had taken the Year before, when he sent for me over into *England* from *Nimeguen* to that purpose.

* *Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds.*

I sent my humble Acknowledgments to the King, in my Answer to the Lord Treasurer's Letter; but withall, my humble Excuses for not putting His Majesty upon the Use of an old beaten Horse, in such hard Service as I took that Station then to be; and propos'd my Colleague, Sir LIONEL JENKINS, for that purpose. And having long promis'd the Great Duke, that I would

make

make him a Visit at *Florence*, if I liv'd: I turn'd my Thoughts wholly to get leave for that Journey, as soon as the Congress at *Nimeguen* should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that Spring, 167⅘.

THIS gave some Respite at Court to the Resolutions of my Return, and an Overture for Sir LIONEL JENKINS's coming over in my Room; so that I prepar'd for a short Return to *Nimeguen*; when most unexpectedly came a Yacht to *Rotterdam*, with Letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of SUNDERLAND, who had newly succeeded Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON. And in both those Dispatches, there was a positive Command from the King, for my immediate Repair into *England*, in or-

der to my entring upon the Secretary's Office.

THE King writ the ſame thing at the ſame time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did as a Thing he thought they would be pleas'd with (as he was himſelf, and indeed all my Friends); Tho' while I was forc'd to ſtay at the *Hague*, about a Fortnight before my Imbarking, they all found me in very different Thoughts, both upon my Diſcourſes and my Letters; Inſomuch that the Prince told me, he look'd upon it as a piece of Predeſtination, that I ſhould be Secretary of State at laſt, in ſpight of all I had done ſo long to avoid it.

UP-

UPON my Arrival in *England*, I met with the moſt ſurpriſing Scene that ever was: The long Parliament diſſolv'd, and the Reſolution taken for the Duke's going into *Holland*, and that he was to part next Day: So that I had only one Occaſion of ſpeaking to him; when he told me with great Freedom the Paces that had been made towards that Reſolution, much againſt his own Opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, That however this was thought likely to ſtop the violent Humour then rais'd by the *Plot*, yet, I ſhould ſee it would go on next to my Lord Treaſurer's Ruin, though he did not expect it.

WHEN the Duke was gone, and the King had told me with

the greateſt Kindneſs that could be, of his Reſolution to have me Secretary; and that I had no Reaſon to take it well, becauſe he knew not one Man beſides in *England* that was fit for it upon Mr. COVENTRY's Removal; And on the other Side, my Friends had told me, they had the Money ready for me to lay down, which was Five Thouſand Pounds; I began to conſider the Ground, and the Journey, and my own Strength to go through with it. I found nothing ſo neceſſary for His Majeſty's Affairs Abroad, and thoſe of Chriſtendom, as Great Union at Home; which might enable Him to make ſuch a Figure as the Preſervation of his Allies requir'd; and indeed the general Intereſt of Chriſtendom; which ſeem'd to depend wholly upon his Majeſty's Meaſures,

ſures. On t'other Side, I never ſaw greater Diſturbance in Mens Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Purſuit of it in the Parliament; and obſerv'd, that tho' it was generally believ'd by both Houſes, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity; yet when I talk'd with ſome of my Friends in private, who ought beſt to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet Myſterious; that they could not ſay the King believ'd it; but however that the Parliament and Nation were ſo generally and ſtrongly poſſeſs with it, that it muſt of Neceſſity be purſued as if it were true, whether it was ſo or not: And that without the King's Uniting with his People upon this Point, he would never grow either into

Eaſe at Home, or Conſideration Abroad.

UPON Three Days Thought of this whole Affair, I concluded it a Scene unfit for ſuch Actors as I knew my ſelf to be; and reſolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, my Character Abroad ſtill continuing. This I acquainted my neareſt Friends with; order'd the Money to be return'd, which had been provided by them; and fell into the Conſultations how I might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear Undutiful or Ungrateful to His Majeſty.

THE Elections were Canvaſing for a new Parliament, and I order'd my Pretentions ſo as they came to fail. In the mean time

I defer'd my entring into the Secretary's Place, till I might likewiſe enter into the Houſe of Commons, which both His Majeſty and Lord Treaſurer were ſatisfied with, though not Lord SUNDERLAND. But when that Parliament was choſen, and I not of the Houſe; I repreſented to His Majeſty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the Houſe of Commons, and how uſeful Mr. COVENTRY would be to Him there; and ſo obtain'd a Reſpite till I could be choſen of the Houſe; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, eſpecially that at *Windſor*, but however could not be carry'd.

THE ſhort Parliament met, with the Diſputes between the Court and the Commons about the

the Speaker, begun indeed upon a Pique between the Treasurer and Mr. * SEYMOUR, or rather between my Lady DANBY and him. However it was, this soon ran the House into such Violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his Ruin; first by the King's sudden Resolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Pursuits and Impeachments; and last by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing himself in the Face of this Storm, which ended in the Tower.

* *Afterwards Sir* Edw. Seymour.

AFTER these Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Measures and Motions among them, as they were sway'd by popular Humours upon the Plot, and many new Plots lay'd by

by the Ambitions of private Perſons, carry'd on under Covert of the other; I never ſaw any Man more ſenſible of the miſerable Condition of his Affairs, than I found His Majeſty upon many Diſcourſes with him, which my Foreign Employments and Correſpondences made way for. But nothing he ſaid to me mov'd me more, than when upon the ſad Proſpect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of them in Confidence, ſince my Lord Treaſurer's being gone. And this gave, I ſuppoſe, His Majeſty the Occaſion of entring into more Confidence with me, than I could deſerve or expect.

ON the other Side I found, that the Counſel of my Lord Trea-

Treaſurer's Removal, had been carry'd on by the Duke of MONMOUTH, in Conjunction with the Dutcheſs of PORTSMOUTH and Lord ESSEX, who was then in the greateſt Confidence with the Duke of MONMOUTH, and by Him and Lord SUNDERLAND newly brought into the Treaſury. I found my Lord SUNDERLAND at leaſt in complyance with this Knot, and that all were reſolv'd to bring my Lord SHAFTSBURY again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord ESSEX, and had a near Relation to Lord SUNDERLAND. I obſerv'd the great Affection His Majeſty had to the Duke of MONMOUTH, and ſaw plainly the Uſe his Grace intended to make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion,

or

or in his Intereſts: And this being a Matter that might concern the very Succeſſion of the Crown, and not only an Injury to the Duke, but through him to his Children, and the Prince of ORANGE; I reſolv'd firſt, if it were poſſible, to break the Growth of that Miniſtry, though I ſaw no Men whom I could deſign to fix in it, with any Satisfaction or Advantage to the King or his Service.

ON t'other ſide, I obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every Day more Violent, upon the Support they receiv'd from the Humours rais'd by the Plot, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons playing that Game. I ſaw a probability of Matters growing to ſuch a Paſs, that His Majeſty might be forc'd to part with

with them; and yet I ſaw not Authority enough left in the Crown either to do That without the venture of great Miſchiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the preſent Humours might cool. And both theſe Conſiderations meeting together, caſt me upon the Thoughts of the King's Eſtabliſhing a new Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the preſent Parliament, by taking in ſo many Perſons of thoſe who had Moſt among them, and thereby give Eaſe and Quiet both to the King and his People; Or, if on the other ſide, the Humours ſhould grow Outragious and beyond Oppoſing, the King might yet at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard of ill Conſequences, either Prorogue or Diſſolve them, as any Ne-

Neceſſities of his own, or Extravagancies of theirs ſhould require.

FOR theſe Ends it ſeem'd neceſſary to take into the Council ſome Lords and Commoners, who were of moſt appearing Credit and Sway in both Houſes, without being thought either Principled or Intereſted againſt the Government; and mix them with others of His Majeſty's more General Choice, for making up one Half of the Council: whilſt the other Half being Fifteen, were ever to be the preſent chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold: Who being all of His Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, would be ſure to keep the Council Steddy to the true Intereſt of His Majeſty and the Crown.

BUT

BUT one chief Regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was That of the perſonal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year: Whereas thoſe of a Houſe of Commons are ſeldom found to have exceeded Four Hundred Thouſand Pounds. And Authority is obſerved much to follow Land: And at the worſt, ſuch a Council might out of their own Stock, and upon a Pinch, furniſh the King ſo far, as to relieve ſome great Neceſſity of the Crown.

THIS whole Matter was conſulted and deduc'd upon Paper, only between the King and me, and laſted in the Debate and Digeſtion about a Month: But when

when the Forms and Perſons were agreed, and His Majeſty ſeem'd much ſatisfied with the Thing, and reſolv'd to go on with it, I humbly deſired Him not to take a Reſolution of that Importance, without firſt communicating it to Three or Four Perſons of thoſe His Majeſty could moſt rely upon in Point of Judgment, Secrecy, and Affection to His Service. The King reſolv'd I ſhould go and Communicate the whole Scheme, with all the Particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord SUNDERLAND, and Lord ESSEX; but, one after another; and with Charge from Him of the laſt Secrecy; and ſhould bring him Word of their Opinions upon it; and if they concurr'd with His, ſhould appoint them to attend His Majeſty next Morning; the Chancellor only entring into

* FINCH.

his Lodgings by the Common Way, but the other Two and I by the private One below.

WHEN I acquainted them with it, they all receiv'd it with equal Amazement and Pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into His Majesty's Breast: Lord ESSEX, that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the same Dispositions to the King which he found at his Coming in: And Lord SUNDERLAND approv'd it as much as any.

NEXT Day we attended His Majesty, and had a very long Audience, upon which no Difficulty arose but Two that were wholly Personal. I had propos'd Lord HALLIFAX as one of the

the Lords, whom the King had indeed Keck'd at in our firſt Conſultations, more than any of the reſt: But upon ſeveral Repreſentations, of his Family, his Abilities, his Eſtate and Credit, as well as Talent to Ridicule and Unravel whatever he was ſpited at, I thought His Majeſty had been contented with it: But at this Meeting, he rais'd new Difficulties upon it, and appear'd a great while invincible in them, though we all join'd in the Defence of it: And at laſt, I told the King, we would fall upon our Knees to gain a Point that we all thought neceſſary for his Service: And then His Majeſty conſented.

THE other was concerning Lord SHAFTSBURY, who had never been mention'd in our firſt

Debates; and the King either had not thought of Him before upon this Affair, or had not mention'd Him to me, as knowing upon all Occasions of private Discourse with His Majesty, what Opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord HALLIFAX had pass'd, the King said there was another, who if he were left out might do as much Mischief as any, and named Lord SHAFTSBURY; to which the other Three agreed, and concluded farther, that he would never be content with a Councellor's Place among Thirty, and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number by making a President, which should be he. I disputed this Point from the first Mention to the last Conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the Good that we expected

pected from the whole Conſtitution; and ſaid all that I could with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that when by His Majeſty's agreeing with the other Three, I ſaw it would be concluded, I walk'd away to the other End of the Room, not knowing well whether I ſhould have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, I deſir'd His Majeſty to remember, that I had no part in Lord SHAFTSBURY's coming into His Council or His Affairs; that His Majeſty and the other Three Lords had reſolv'd it without me; and that I was ſtill abſolutely againſt it. The King Laugh'd, and turn'd my Anger into a Jeſt; and ſo went on with the reſt of the Conſtitution intended, till the whole was reſolv'd and executed publickly in Eaſter 1679. *See the Appendix.*

THE Night before the Thing was to be done, His Majeſty thought fit to tell it the Duke of MONMOUTH; having kept it Secret till then, further than to the Four already named. But as ſoon as the Duke of MONMOUTH knew, though only in general, that the Council ſhould be chang'd, he told it ſo many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which we interpreted either Lightneſs or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to paſs ſo well. And indeed when the Thing was done in the Forms that are known, it was receiv'd with general Applauſe in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the ſame in *Ireland*: In *Holland* the Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company roſe upon it immediately,

mediately, and very much; and the States design'd one of their best and most considerable Men, Monsieur VAN LEWEN, to come over Minister into *England* upon this Occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfy'd with it, and Monsieur BARILLON said it was making *des Etats* [*States*], and not *des Conseils* [*Councils*]; but the Reasons were easy to see, and so not much consider'd.

THE House of Commons receiv'd it with most Coldness, where the contrary was most expected: And the pretending Knowers among them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court Juggle, and to refer it to Time to tell what it was in truth; In the mean

while to ſuſpend their Judgments.

THIS was the firſt Effect of my Lord SHAFTSBURY's good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entred, but not with the perſonal or tranſcendent Credit he aim'd at with His Majeſty, and which he thought thoſe who had been Authors of this new Conſtitution, had the greateſt Share in. This made him fall in more abſolutely with the Duke of MONMOUTH, and uſe all their Endeavours to raiſe ſuch Diſcontents and Heats in the Houſes, upon the Apprehenſions of Popery, and Propoſitions to prevent it, that the King found himſelf ſoon upon as uneaſy Terms with this Seſſion of Parliament, as he had been with the laſt; the Humours being engaged by my Lord

Lord SHAFTSBURY's pretending among his Patriots, that the Duke of MONMOUTH had ſo much Credit with the King, that His Majeſty deſir'd but a good Occaſion of conſenting to all the Parliament ſhould inſiſt on, which would be given Him by their Heat and Obſtinacy in ſo popular a Point as that againſt Popery: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of MONMOUTH and He ſhould be able to Steer all the reſt, to the Satisfaction of thoſe who call'd themſelves the *Good* or the *Honeſt* Party.

SUCH a Miſchief could never have grown, if Lord SHAFTSBURY had not work'd himſelf up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King: and in the Council where he was Preſi-

dent;

ter his Entrance into publick Employment; till it was very near expired; I once reſolv'd, by that Omiſſion, to make my ſelf abſolutely incapable of bearing any for the future: And was not perſwaded to lay aſide that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with my Wife and Siſter here at *Sheen*: But that Matter paſs'd in Form, and I continued barely of the Council, with a Reſolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, though often and earneſtly urg'd to it by Lord SUNDERLAND, with others of my Friends.

UPON the new Conſtitution of the Council, my Lord SUNDERLAND had, by Mr. SYDNEY, deſir'd that we Two might joyn together in perfect Confidence, and diſtinct from any o-

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thers in the Course of the King's Affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's Office or not; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no Need of it, considering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council, or the particular Committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private Channels. This Confidence had not run on above a Fortnight, when my Lord SUNDERLAND ask'd me, if I were willing my Lord ESSEX should be receiv'd into it; which I consented to though with Intimation to Lord SUNDERLAND of the Opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord ESSEX, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met for a while once a Day

by

by Turns, at each of our Houſes, and conſulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil, and how they might be beſt prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council: But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of Lord SHAFTSBURY, with the Duke of MONMOUTH's Cover at leaſt, and upon the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons about the Buſineſs of Religion; and my Lord HALLIFAX appearing unſatisfy'd, by obſerving where the King's Confidence was; I propos'd to my Lords SUNDERLAND and ESSEX, to receive him into all our Conſultations; which I thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give us more Eaſe in the Courſe of his Affairs. Lord ESSEX receiv'd the Overture with his uſual Dryneſs;

neſs; Lord SUNDERLAND oppos'd it a good deal, and told me, I ſhould not find Lord HALLIFAX the Perſon I took him for, but one that could draw with no Body, and ſtill climbing up to the Top himſelf. However, I continued Reſolute in preſſing it, and ſo at length the Thing was concluded, and we fell all Four together into the uſual Meetings and Conſultations.

THE chief Matters that lay before the King at that time, were; firſt, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into ſome Meaſures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in ſuch a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was neceſſary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invaſion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which look'd

look'd very Deſperate, without ſome ſtrong and reſolute Protection from *England*.

THE Second, was, a Reſolution to be taken in Anſwer to the Inſtances made by Monſieur VAN LEWEN from the States, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by His Majeſty; particularly to *Spain* in the Buſineſs of *Flanders*.

THE Third, was, the giving ſome Eaſe to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to ſwell about this time; and which we conceiv'd could be no way done ſo eaſily, as by removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE; a Man too much Hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper

per His Majeſty ſeem'd reſolv'd to uſe in his Affairs.

FOR this Laſt, we could not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd (both joyntly and ſeverally) by us all Four; the King's Defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew *Scotland* ſo well as His Majeſty Himſelf.

FOR the Second, we eaſily agreed upon the Meaſures that ſeem'd neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the States, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all Four of the Committee, where all the Foreign Affairs were conſulted; and taking the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY into the Firſt Digeſtion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpoſe, at my Lord HALIFAX's

FAIRFAX's House; which was the only time I ever had any Thing to do, or so much as Talk, with my Lord SHAFTSBURY, further than the Council Chamber.

FOR the First thing, which was the most Important, we found it more perplex'd than we could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succession to the Crown; which Humour was blown up by all the Arts and Intrigues of the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY. The King seem'd willing to secure them all that could be against those Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succession. The House of Commons were busie in finding out Expedients to secure

See the Appendix.

cure this Point, but could agree on none; being ſtill diverted from fixing on any, by Lord SHAFTSBURY's Practices. The Council fell upon the ſame Scent with great Earneſtneſs and Endeavour; and after much Hammering, agreed upon many Heads to be offer'd the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

THESE Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except my Lord SHAFTSBURY and me; who were againſt them, upon very different Grounds. Mine were Two; Firſt, becauſe I believ'd, that nothing that came Firſt from the King upon theſe Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who if they would be ſatisfy'd at all, I thought ſhould Firſt agree upon What, and leave it to the King to take

or refuſe. The Second was, that as I did not ſee any certain Eaſe theſe Expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houſes; ſo it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown after Him in Shackles, which put on upon the Duke's Occaſion, and in his Time, would not be eaſily knock'd off by any Succeſſor. My Lord SHAFTSBURY's Ground was plain, and ſo expreſs'd by him upon all Occaſions; which was, that there could be no Security againſt the Duke, if once in Poſſeſſion of the Crown: And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of MONMOUTH's Friends into the Houſe of Commons, occaſion'd their ſullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and lay'd the Foundation for the proceedings of the late Houſe of Com-

Commons, and the ſtrange Diſorders wherein they have left Affairs at Home, and thereby the deſperate Condition of Affairs Abroad.

DURING all theſe Tranſactions, the Three Lords and I continued our conſtant Meetings and Conſultations; and with ſo much Union, and ſo diſintereſted Endeavours for the General Good of His Majeſty's Service and the Kingdom's, that I could not but ſay to them, at the end of one of our Meetings, That we Four were either the Four honeſteſt Men in *England*, or the greateſt Knaves; for we made one another at leaſt believe, that we were the honeſteſt Men in the World.

BUT this Conjunction held not long: For, after the Houſes

rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, my Lord SHAFTSBURY finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the Houſe of Commons, and inflam'd them to that Degree, as made the Three Lords of my Commerce begin to grow uneaſy, and to caſt about which way they might lay this Storm. At length my Lord SUNDERLAND told me, that Lord ESSEX and Lord HALLIFAX were of Opinion, that it was neceſſary to take in the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY into the Firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, conſidering the Influence they had upon the Houſe; and for this End to agree with them in the Baniſhment of the Duke, either for a certain Term,

or

or during the King's Life; and desir'd to know whether I would fall into it with them, and joyn in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord SUNDERLAND positively I would not: For, First, I would never have any Thing to do with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; and next, I would never enter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; having upon several Occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but never would have any Thing to do in the Divisions of it; and no Man should ever Reproach me with breaking my Word, and much less the King or the Duke.

THIS was peremptory, and ſo it ended; and thereupon the Three Lords fell into Meetings and Conſultations with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; which I knew nothing of, and began to come leſs to Council, and to meet no more with my uſual Company but upon Occaſion, and without the Firſt Confidence; but we ſtill continued our Kindneſs where-ever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating what paſt in their new Conſultations.

BUT this laſted not long neither: For within a Fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY unreaſonable, and like to prevail upon the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into Neceſſities of yielding all Points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY abſolutely at the Head of all Affairs; ſo that the Three Lords began to make their Complaints of it, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the preſent Diſtemper. I agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather becauſe I foreſaw it would abſolutely break the Three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY: And ſo we agreed to propoſe it to His Majeſty, and that it ſhould be debated and reſolv'd at Council; where the chief Officers depending upon the King, being one Half of the Council, and

and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent Choice, we concluded the Resolution could not fail to be taken by the Majority of the Council; if the Reasons and Necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seem'd most in my Lord SHAFTSBURY's Confidence, to leave him upon this Occasion. And in this Resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again Two Days after for the fixing it with His Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the Country, where I stay'd my Two Days, and came up the Third Morning early.

UPON my Arrival, I found my Lord SUNDERLAND had call'd or sent several times to my House the Night before, and left

left Word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to Town. I sent immediately to *Whitehall*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord ESSEX who was neareſt me, and ask'd whether any thing new had happen'd. He told me that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of Plot and Popery; and that their Three Lordships having upon it consulted with His Majesty, he had resolv'd the Parliament should be Prorogued that Morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate of Council; which for my part, I thought

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an ill Omiſſion, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King with Advice of his Council, according to the uſual Forms: But it paſs'd otherwiſe, and with very great Reſentment of both Houſes; and ſuch Rage of my Lord SHAFTSBURY, that he ſaid upon it aloud in the Houſe, that he would have the Heads of thoſe who were the Adviſers of this Prorogation.

DURING this Seſſion of Parliament, I had ſeveral Notices given me, of a Practice ſet on Foot in the Houſe of Commons, for Impeaching me, as one that had been an Inſtrument of making the general Peace; and this was urg'd by Stories, of being a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and one that had written ſeveral Things, though without Name, againſt the

the Conſtitution of Parliaments, and in Favour of Popery: And this went ſo far, that Mr. MOUNTAGUE went a great Way from Man to Man in the Houſe, to know whether if ſuch an Accuſation were brought in, they would be againſt me. Several went into it upon Hatred to the late Treaſurer, whoſe Friend they took me to be, and upon Envy at my being deſign'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no ſuch Numbers that Mr. MOUNTAGUE could hope to make any Thing of it: And when ſome of my Friends acquainted me with it, I only deſir'd them to obtain leave of the Houſe, that I might hear my Accuſation at the Bar of the Houſe, and aſſur'd them that I ſhould be glad to have that Occaſion of telling there both Mr. MOUN-

* *Late Duke of Mountague.*

TAGUE's

TAGUE's Story and my own. This fell; But upon the Knowledge of theſe Practices, my Lord SUNDERLAND, and Mr. * SYDNEY, who thought that a Man who had ſuch part in the King's Affairs, ought to ſtand as well as he could with the Houſe of Commons, preſs'd me to ſuffer ſeveral ſmall Things I had formerly Written, and of which Copies had run, to be then Printed; as they were, under the Title of *Miſcellanea*. They thought, by that Publication, Men would ſee, I was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and I might aſſure the World, of being Author of no Books that had not my Name. The thing ſeem'd to paſs well enough; only Lord HALLIFAX commending them to me in General, told me as a Friend,

* *Late Earl of* Rumney.

Friend, that I ſhould take heed of carrying too far that Principle of Paternal Dominion, (which was deduc'd in the Eſſay of Government,) for fear of deſtroying the Rights of the People. So tender was every Body of thoſe Points at that time.

THE Three Lords and I went on unanimous in our Conſultations; conſidering how to make way for a calmer and better temper'd Seſſion of Parliament, after the ſhort Prorogation which had been made. To which purpoſe, we again endeavour'd the removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE, or at leaſt the admiſſion of other Nobles of *Scotland* into thoſe Affairs. We concluded the Meaſures with *Holland* in all Points, to the Satisfaction of their Ambaſſador; and thought

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of ſuch Acts of Council, as might expreſs His Majeſty's Care for ſuppreſſing Popery, even in the Intervals of Parliament. We only diſagreed in one Point, which was the leaving ſome Prieſts to the Law upon the Accuſation of being Prieſts only, as the Houſe of Commons had deſired; which I thought wholly unjuſt, without giving them publick Warning by Proclamation, to be gone, or expect the Penalties of Law within ſuch a Time; ſince the Connivances had laſted now through Three Kings Reigns: Upon this Point, Lord HALLIFAX and I had ſo ſharp a Debate at Lord SUNDERLAND's Lodgings, that he told me if I would not concur in Points which were ſo neceſſary for the People's Satisfaction, he would tell every Body I was a Papiſt: And upon his Affirming, that

that the Plot muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or not, in thoſe Points that were ſo generally believ'd by City or Country as well as both Houſes; I reply'd, with ſome Heat, that the Plot was a Matter long on Foot before I came over into *England*; that to underſtand it, one muſt have been here to obſerve all the Motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it; In other Things I was content to joyn with them, where they thought I could be of Uſe to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excus'd; and very glad to leave His Majeſty's Affairs in ſo good Hands as theirs.

NOTWITHSTANDING some such Differences between me and the Three Lords, yet we continued our Conſultations and Confidence; and Two of them, Lord SUNDERLAND and HALLIFAX, preſs'd me extremely about this time to come into the Secretary's Place. Lord HALLIFAX, particularly, offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle COVENTRY upon the Money that was to be paid; pretending to be very deſirous to ſee me poſted there; and profeſſing to grow weary of the Buſineſs, ſince he could find no Temper like to grow in the next Seſſion of Parliament between the King and them. For ſince the laſt Prorogation, Lord SHAFTSBURY had been buſie in preparing Fewel for next Seſſion, not without per-

perpetual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which broke into ſpightful Repartees often betwixt him and Lord HALLIFAX. And on t'other Side, the Duke of MONMOUTH had broken all Meaſures with Lord ESSEX, with whom he had been long in the laſt Confidence: So as this grew to a ſpighted Quarrel between theſe Four; and though commonly ſmother'd when they met, yet not without Smoak appearing where they were obſerv'd.

IN this Condition of Affairs, the Rebellion in *Scotland* broke out; upon which it was pleaſant to obſerve the Counterpaces that were made. The King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately, by Forces from hence to be diſpatch'd and joyn'd with thoſe in *Scotland*, and the Duke

of MONMOUTH to go and Command them all. Lord SHAFTSBURY ſhew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling this Riſing ſhould be wholly or too ſoon ſuppreſs'd, or otherwiſe than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE: Yet on the other Side, he was willing to ſee the Duke of MONMOUTH grow great by ſuch a Command of the King's Forces both *Engliſh* and *Scotch*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another Project at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, which was (upon the Duke of MONMOUTH's carrying ſo many of the Forces here into *Scotland*) to raiſe a Troop of Two Hundred Gentlemen for

the Guard and Safety of the King's Perſon, whereof the Duke of MONMOUTH to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of Officers who were out of Employment, and whoſe Merits were beſt known to the Duke of MONMOUTH.

ON t'other Side, Lord ESSEX, though he agreed with the King's Opinion, to have the Scotch Inſurrection ſuppreſs'd; yet he had a mind it ſhould be done by the Scotch, to prevent the Duke of MONMOUTH's growing greater than he yet was by that Command; eſpecially if it ſhould be follow'd with Succeſs. And tho' he would not oppoſe his Majeſty in his Reſolution of ſending the Duke of MONMOUTH upon this Expedition; yet he did very openly the other Deſign, which

the King himself seem'd much bent upon, as well as the Duke of MONMOUTH, to raise the Troop of Two Hundred Gentlemen. The other Two Lords and I fell in with him in this last; though Lord ESSEX was most Instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible Difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the Head: So as upon Composition, Money was found for the Duke of MONMOUTH's marching into *Scotland*, and with great Ease to him in his Personal Pretensions; and the new Troop was let fall upon want of Money.

The Duke of MONMOUTH went into *Scotland*; succeeded; took the Body of Rebels; suppress'd absolutely the Rebellion; order'd the Punishment of some;

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gave Pardon to the rest; return'd in Triumph, was receiv'd with great Applauses and Court from all; and with great Appearance of Kindness and Credit by the King, who was now come to *Windsor*, and the Council to *Hampton-Court*, where the Duke of MONMOUTH was receiv'd

THE Term of the Prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring, and 'twas agreed that a Session could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for consulting that Matter at Council. The Duke of MONMOUTH was greater than ever: Lord SHAFTESBURY reckon'd upon being so too upon the next Meeting of Parliament; and at the cost of those whom he took to be Authors of the last Prorogation: Lord Es-

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think of ſome other for that Place; for my ill Health increaſing with my Age made me find my ſelf unable to go through with the Toils of that Office, if executed in the Forms and with the Attendance it requir'd. The King told me, he could not conſent to it; that if he ſhould, he knew not a Man in *England* fit for it beſides me; ſo that I had no Reaſon to take it kindly of Him. I deſir'd His Majeſty to give me leave, and I would propoſe Three Perſons, of which I would undertake every one ſhould be fitter than I. The King would not ſo much as hear me name them; but told me, 'twas a Point he had been ſo long fixt in, that He could not change His Reſolution.

IN our laſt Meeting we had calculated how many at Council

could

could in any probability oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above Six in the whole Council that could be against it, at the most, which we thought would be a great Support to the King's Resolution, against all the Exclamations we expected from Lord SHAFTSBURY and his Friends; and at least that it would be safe against the Consequences which were usually deduced from the Forms of calling Parliaments always by Advice of the Council, that the dissolving them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own Desire.

THE Council Day came, and when I came thither, and found the King and Three Lords with some others already there,

I ask'd Lord SUNDERLAND and HALLIFAX, whether all was prepar'd, and Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers had been ſpoke to? They ſaid, no, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that Morning, and before the Council began. I thought it hard, a Point of that Importance ſhould be neglected ſo long; but was fain to content my ſelf with what they told me would be done. The outward Room where the King was, fill'd apace; every one made his Leg to His Majeſty, and fill'd the Circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a Corner of the Room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was ſo, and I ſaw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the Coun-

cil Chamber: All follow'd; the Council ſate; the King propos'd his Thoughts, whether it were beſt for his Affairs, to Prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to diſſolve it and call another at that time; and deſir'd their Lordſhips Opinions upon it.

I obſerv'd a general Surpriſe at the Board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: But it ſoon appear'd he had not ſo much as done that neither. For after a long Pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the Diſſolution; was follow'd by Lord SHAFTSBURY in the ampleſt manner, and moſt tragical Terms; Lord ANGLESEY follow'd them, by urging all the fatal

tal Conſequences that could be: The ſame Style was purſued by Lord * CHAMBERLAIN, and agreed to by the Marqueſs of WORCESTER; and purſued from the top to the very bottom of the Table by every Man there, and at a very full Council; except the Three Lords, who ſpoke for the Diſſolution, but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done; leaving that Part as I ſuppos'd to me, who was I confeſs well enough inſtructed in the Caſe, to have ſaid more upon that Argument: But I was ſpighted from the Firſt that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's Speech, and ſtill more and more as every Man ſpoke, at the Conſequences happen'd by ſuch a Negligence of my Friends, who had been perpetually about the King,

* *Earl of* Arlington.

and

and might ſo eaſily have effected what was agreed on, and thought ſo neceſſary: I was the laſt but one to ſpeak, and ſaw Argument would ſignify nothing, after ſuch Inequality was declar'd in Number; and ſo contented my ſelf to ſay in ſhort, That I thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between His Majeſty and Parliament was of neceſſity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in a Continuance of this, or Aſſembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelyhood of agreeing better and eaſier with one than with t'other: That His Majeſty had ſpoken ſo much of his deſpairing about any Agreement with this preſent Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another; that for my part, I thought

thought That ought to decide it; becauſe I thought His Majeſty could better judge of that Point than any Body elſe. So His Majeſty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for diſſolving that Parliament, and calling another to Aſſemble in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up, with the greateſt Rage in the World, of the Lord SHAFTSBURY, Lord RUSSEL, and Two or Three more, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Board.

AFTER the Council ended, every Man's Head began to fill with the Thoughts of the new Elections, and ſeveral ſpoke to the King upon that Subject. I had reſolv'd to ſtand for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the Duke of MONMOUTH being Chancellor,

cellor, I desir'd the King to speak to him, to write to some of his Friends in my Favour: He excus'd himself, first, upon Engagements; but the King press'd him upon mine, as a Thing of Importance; and that he could not be otherwise engag'd, before he knew of the Parliament's being Dissolv'd. I said a good deal too upon it: But do what the King could, by all he was pleas'd to say, the Duke of MONMOUTH would not be brought further, than to say he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave me the first plain and open Testimony of his Dispositions towards me, having ever receiv'd before all outward Civilities, though without my Visits or Attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his Word with me in this Point, better than I expected: For my

Election in the University, proceeded with the most general Concurrence that could be there, and without any Difficulties I could observe from that Side; Those which were rais'd, coming from the Bishop of ELY, who own'd the opposing me from a Chapter of Religion in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an Opinion, that mine was for such a Toleration of Religion, as is there described to be in *Holland*.

THE Council after this Day, was put off till the King's return to *London*, according to the Use of that Season; and every one began to canvas for Elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all His Majesty's Affairs seem'd to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolv'd to dwell

that could help to make Fair Weather there. I told my Friends I would take care of my Election, and go down about it; but for the rest, would pass my Time at Home the remainder of the Summer, and recommended the common Cares to the Three Lords; whose Attendance I knew would not fail at Court, Two of them from their Offices, and the Third from his Duty; which the Marquis of Halifax. would always muſt have Buſineſs to employ it, or would elſe be uneaſie.

THE Summer was declining, but the Duke of MONMOUTH in his greateſt Height; when the King fell ſick at *Windſor*, and with Three ſuch Fits of a Feaver as gave much Apprehenſion, and That a general Amazement; Peo-

pre looking upon any thing at this time that should happen Ill to the King, as an end of the World. I went to *Windsor*, after the Second Fit; and having seen His Majesty, observ'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in Danger, without Accidents, which was to be the Care of his Physicians, who were some of them wholly of my Mind. I found and left the Three Lords very Diligent at Court, in attending both his Person and Affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came Home without entring further into any Discourse with them, than of His Majesty's Sickness; which was then the general Discourse and Care

ABOUT

ABOUT Three or Four Days after, having receiv'd Assurance of the King's certain Recovery, by being free of any Return of his Feaver Fits, I went up to *London* to solicite a great Arrear of my Ambassies due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that Morning at my Lord ESSEX's House, whither I went strait; but by the Way, heard that the Duke was that Night pass'd through *London*, and rode Post to *Windsor*; which I doubted not His Highness had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger, upon the News of His Sickness; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize, and *martel en tête* [*Uneasiness*] that would be given Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX by this

ſudden Arrival of the Duke, to whoſe Intereſts they had run ſo Counter, and with ſuch Heights, for ſeveral Years. But upon their late ſeparating all Meaſures from the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, I thought I had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke, when I ſhould ſee him, which I reſolv'd the next Day.

WHEN I came to Lord ESSEX's Houſe, and ask'd for the Commiſſioners, I found they were ſate ſome time, but that Lord ESSEX had newly left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber, whither I was immediately ſent for; his Servants went out, and left him Booted, and ready to get up on Horſe-back. As ſoon as we were alone, he ask'd me, whether I had not

met

met with ſtrange News, and what I thought of it? I ſaid, it did not ſeem very ſtrange that the Duke ſhould come, if he thought the King in Danger. Lord Essex reply'd, yet 'twas ſtrange he ſhould come without Leave from the King; and that now His Majeſty was well, ſure he would not think of ſtaying Three Days: That he was going as faſt as he could to *Windſor*, to ſee what all this Buſineſs was, and ask'd me if I would not go, which I excus'd for that Day, but promis'd the next. In this little Diſcourſe, I obſerv'd all along a ſneering Smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was uſual with his Lordſhip; and that he ſhould be pleas'd with it at Heart, I could not

well imagine, knowing how Things had paſs'd between the Duke and him.

NEXT Day I went to *Windſor*; and the firſt Man I met was Lord HALLIFAX coming down from Court on Foot, and with a Face of Trouble; and as ſoon as he ſaw me, with Hands lift up Two or Three times; upon which I ſtop'd, and alighting, ask'd what was the Matter: He told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every Body was amaz'd; but where we were, or what would be next, no Body knew: He bid me go on to Court before the King went out; ſaid he was going to his Lodging, to ſit and think over this new World; but deſir'd we might meet

meet, and my Lord SUNDERLAND, after Dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who receiv'd me with great Kindneſs, and preſently carry'd me into a little inner Room, and ask'd me, ſmiling and very familiarly, whether I did not Wonder to ſee him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in Danger; for in that Caſe His Highneſs had nothing elſe to do: And that I believ'd upon the firſt News of His Majeſty's Illneſs, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the next News; but that His Majeſty's Sickneſs having paſs'd ſo ſoon, I confeſs'd I had not thought of his coming over. We talk'd of the King's Recovery; what Stay his Highneſs

ness would make, which he said should be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey Him in every thing. I gave the Duke a short Account of Affairs here, as they had past'd since the Constitution of the Council; of the Mischiefs had been occasion'd by the Lord SHAFTSBURY's having been brought in so much against my Will; of his Measures with the Duke of MONMOUTH; of the Three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the Credit they were grown into with the King; and of my Confidence, they would never fall into any Measures against his Highness: Upon which Chapter I said a good deal that I thought necessary to make Lord ESSEX and HALIFAX's Court, which I was very glad to see so well receiv'd by the Duke.

For

For as to Lord SUNDERLAND; I had little Reaſon to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole Courſe of his Life. For my ſelf, I only ſaid at laſt, that becauſe I did not know what our preſent Diſtempers might end in, if the next Parliament ſhould prove of the ſame Humour with the Two laſt; nor what Meaſures his Highneſs would fall into about ſtaying or going away again; I would only ſay, that let what's ever would befal the King's Affairs or his Highneſs's, he might always reckon upon me as a *loyal* Man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the leaſt Scruple in this Reſolution, unleſs Things ſhould ever grow ſo deſperate, as to bring in Foreigners, which (if ever it ſhould be)

be) would be a new Case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his Hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any Man. And so I parted, after a long and very gracious Audience, and came Home that Night, having miss'd my Lord HALIFAX and ESSEX in the Afternoon at Lord SUNDERLAND's, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they fail'd; and Lord SUNDERLAND and I talk'd deep into nothing, reserving our selves, as I thought, till the others came.

I stay'd at Home, making the Reflections I could not avoid upon the Carriage of my Friends; till within a few Days I heard the

the News of the Duke of MONMOUTH's Disgrace; which tho' it came by some Degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost Game in the King's Favour and Resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, That while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of MONMOUTH should be so too; having made his Pretensions so evident, and pursu'd them so much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs; However, I could not but Wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few Days, or rather Hours, to get so great a Victory. I went within a Day or Two to *London*, I found my Lord HALIFAX in Physick, but saw plainly his Distemper was not what he call'd it; his

Head

Head look'd very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our Talk was by snatches; Sickness, ill Humours, Hate of Town and Business, Ridiculousness of Human Life; and whenever I turn'd any thing to the present Affairs after our usual manner, nothing but Action of Hands or Eyes, Wonder, and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence. [illegible] made Home, and satisfy'd enough upon what Terms I was with my Friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole Secret; which was that upon the King's first Illness, the Lord ESSEX and HAMILTON being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own so too; and that if any thing hap-

pen'd

pen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of MONMOUTH would be at the Head of the Nation, in opposition to the Duke upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjunction with Lord SHAFTESBURY, who had threaten'd to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the last Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by Lord ESSEX and HALIFAX to themselves; reckoning Lord SUNDERLAND out of Danger by his Relation to Lord SHAFTESBURY, and the fair Terms I had always made between them. This Fright had so affected these Lords, that not staying to see what the King's Second Fit would be, they proposed to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolv'd, and the Dispatch made with all the Secrecy and

Speed

Speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to pass for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it should be receiv'd by His Majesty and the Three Lords with all Signs of Surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of MONMOUTH so in-rag'd at this Council, as well as Lord SHAFTSBURY, that they saw no Way but to Ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and joyning themselves wholly with the Duke's Interest; which they did for that Time, till they had brought about all His Highness desir'd for His Security against the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; the First going over into *Holland*, and the other being turn'd out of the Council.

FOR

FOR my own part, though I was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, whose Designs had run the Kingdom into such incurable Divisions and Distractions, at a Time that our Union was so necessary to the Affairs of Christendom Abroad; yet I was Spighted to the Heart, at the Carriage of my Friends towards me in this Affair: And not so much for their taking such a Resolution without my Knowledge and Concert, (which they never had done since our first Commerce), as for keeping me Ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let me make such a Figure as I did, in doing all the good Offices, and making all the Court I could to the Duke, for Lord

ESSEX and HALLIFAX, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Interests and Counsels; and H. who had Reason to think my self well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. But I had Reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them perceiving the Duke much unsatisfy'd with the Constitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon me; whereas, it was by Lord CHANCELLOR, Lord SUNDERLAND, and Lord ESSEX had not fallen into it with the greatest Applauses and Endeavours in the World to finish the Draught of it, the Thing had certainly dyed; and for my own Part, after I could not hinder

my

my Lord SHAFTSBURY's being brought in, I would have been very well content it ſhould.

I could not but tell my Lord SUNDERLAND of theſe Reſentments; and that I found my ſelf ſo unfit for Courts, that I was reſolv'd to paſs the reſt of my Life in my own Domeſtick, without troubling my ſelf further about any publick Affairs, than not to appear ſullen in not coming ſometimes to general Councils; And that Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX's Carriage to me had been ſuch, after having been the Two Men of *England* I had it in my Power and my Fortunes moſt to oblige, that I would never have any Thing more to do with them. This I ſaid only to one Perſon more; and how it

came to be known by their Two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all Commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at Council, or in Third Places; though Lord HALIFAX came to an Eclaircissement with me the Spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the Service I could upon Occasion in the late House, as well as in Council, upon their Heats against him.

I past the rest of the Summer at Home, and left the Three Lords in the chief Ministry and sole Confidence, as outwardly appear'd, both with the King and Duke. And Lord Essex told my Brother Sir JOHN TEMPLE who was then here, that he had more Credit with the King than all the rest of the Mi-

Ministers, or any Man in *England*; But the refin'd Courtiers, who observe Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it: And soon after Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX, upon the private Examination of an Intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor Thought worth my Enquiry, which was commonly call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, took such a Distaste at finding themselves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the Secret Examinations about it; that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their Discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord ESSEX left the Treasury; Lord HALLIFAX in Discourse to me commended him for it, and told me his Resolution to go down into the Country; and though he could not plant Me-

lons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant Carots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about Publick Affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Rufford*. To their nearer Friends I heard they complain'd, that they found they had no found Part in the King's Confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other Mens Dupes, and did other Mens Work; and that finding no Measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would have no more Part in publick Affairs.

UPON Lord ESSEX's leaving the Treasury, Mr. * HYDE came of Course to be First Commissioner; and he and Mr. * GO-

* *Now Earl of* Rochester.

* GODOLPHIN, were brought into the Council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcom'd them, as Two Persons that had always been my Friends, and agreed with me in all my Opinions and Measures about Affairs Abroad, wherein only we had been Conversant in our Commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at Home. These Two joyn'd in Confidence with Lord SUNDERLAND; and the other Two Lords being in Discontent or Absent, and I keeping at Home both upon my Resolution and Inclination; these Three were esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as the Ministry.

* Now Earl of Godolphin.

OCTOBER came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: The Duke of MONMOUTH in *Holland*: Lord SHAFTSBURY endeavour'd to enflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct and Counſels againſt the Sitting of the Parliament, and to ſet afoot Petitions in caſe they did not Sit: The Miniſters were not able to ſtand the opening of the Parliament; and ſo a ſhort Prorogation was expected ſome Days before that appointed for their Aſſembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a Month or Six Weeks; when being recover'd of a Fit of the Gout, I came to Town, and went to Lord SUNDERLAND, talk'd to him of my ſeveral Arrears in the Treaſury, deſir'd his Help, which he promis'd

mis'd with great Kindness, and went with me to the King, where we propos'd and agreed the Way of my Satisfaction. The King seem'd very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them said a Word to me of any Publick Business. From the King's Chamber we went to the Council, where I expected nothing but such common Things as I knew had pass'd for a good while before; and so all pass'd, till I thought the Council was ending, when the King after a little Pause told us, That upon many Considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer Prorogation than he had intended, of the Parliament: That he had consider'd all the Consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolv'd, and not to

hear

hear any Thing that ſhould be ſaid againſt it: That he would have it Prorogued till that time Twelvemonth; and charg'd my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

ALL at Council were Stunn'd at this Surprizing Reſolution, and the Way of propoſing it; except thoſe few that were in the Secret, and they thought fit to be Silent, and leave the thing wholly upon His Majeſty: Several others roſe up, and would have entred into the Reaſonings and Conſequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and ſo all Debate ended. After which I roſe, and told the King, That as to the Reſolution he had taken, I would ſay nothing, becauſe he was reſolv'd to hear no Reaſoning upon it; therefore I would only

only preſume to offer him my humble Advice as to the Courſe of his future Proceedings; which was, that His Majeſty in his Affairs would pleaſe to make uſe of ſome Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, His Majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Perſons or Number of this preſent Council ſuited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to Diſſolve them and Conſtitute another of Twenty, of Ten, or of Five, or any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he would; but to make Counſellors that ſhould not Counſel, I doubted whether it were in His Majeſty's Power or not, becauſe it imply'd a Contradiction; and ſo far as I had obſerv'd, either of former Ages or the preſent, I queſtion'd

queſtion'd whether it was a Thing had been practis'd in *England* by His Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the preſent Princes of Chriſtendom: And therefore I humbly adviſed him to conſtitute ſome ſuch Council, as he would think fit to make uſe of, in the Digeſtion of his great and publick Affairs.

HIS Majeſty heard me very Graciouſly, and ſeem'd not at all diſpleas'd with any thing I had ſaid; nor any other Perſon of the Lords of the Council, but moſt very much to approve it: Yet after the Council was up, my Lord SUNDERLAND came to me, told me, he was never ſo ſurpris'd as at what I had ſaid, and expected it ſooner from any Man in *England* than me: That whatever Reſolutions had been taken

taken about my Buſineſs in the Treaſury, he was ſure nothing ſhould be done. I reply'd, that if he liked not what I ſaid, he ſhould have prevented it, by telling me before I came to Council what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been ſo long before: And that if my Debt would not be paid, I muſt live the beſt I could without it.

NOT long before, the Prince of ORANGE writ me Word, how much he found the Duke unſatisfy'd with me, upon the Belief that it was I had given the Prince thoſe Impreſſions and Sentiments which he had upon the common Affairs of Chriſtendom; whereas, he could ſay on the contrary, that it was he had given

ven me mine, and ſhould never change his own till he were convinc'd *d' avoir tort* [*of being in the Wrong*]: However, that he thought fit out of Friendſhip to me, to give me this Advice.

I was now in a poſture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in publick Affairs. The Duke unſatisfy'd with me of late; the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY from the very firſt; Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX out of all Commerce with me upon what had paſs'd; Great Civility from the other Miniſters, but no Communication; And the King himſelf, though very Gracious, yet very Reſerv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Proſpect of our Diſtractions at Home, and thereupon the Diſaſters threatning Abroad; but

but chiefly upon my own Native Humour, born for a private Life, and particular Converſation or general Leiſure; I reſolv'd to give over all Part in publick Affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a Month's time, which I ſpent chiefly in the Country.

IN this time the Lord RUSSEL, Lord * CAVENDISH, Sir H. CAPEL, and Mr. POWLE, diſtaſted at the late Prorogation, as well as at the Manner of it, and pretending to deſpair of being able to ſerve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general Humour of the People; went to the King together, and deſir'd His Majeſty to excuſe their Attendance any more upon Him

* *Late Duke of Devonſhire.*

at Council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord SALISBURY, Lord ESSEX, and Lord HALIFAX, seem'd to have taken the same Resolution, though not in so much Form. Upon which I thought it might be a great Prejudice to His Majesty's Affairs, to be left by so many at once; And that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entring into a Faction, with Persons who were only displeas'd with the present Scene upon Hopes of entring soon upon another, which was no Part of my Thoughts or Designs. Therefore I resolv'd to go again to Council, to shew I had not Herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too, might not occasion some Men's greater Distastes at the Government.

IN

IN the Intermiſſion I had made, my Wife continuing her Commerce with my Lady SUNDERLAND, had met my Lord there; who taking no Notice of what had paſs'd between us, ask'd her how I had proceeded in my Buſineſs of the Treaſury, and whether I needed his Help, which he offer'd with great Friendlyneſs if I had Occaſion. When I came up to Town, and went the firſt time to Council; after it was done, I went to Lord SUNDERLAND, told him what Regards towards His Majeſty had made me come up, and gave him Thanks for his Offers to my Wife: I found him return'd to his firſt Temper towards me; enter'd into common Affairs, but always with Profeſſions of my Reſolutions to retire, and my

Thoughts of a Journey into *Italy*, which I had long promis'd the Great Duke. I liv'd on with my Lord SUNDERLAND in all Kindness, though not Confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. HYDE and Mr. GODOLPHIN. I made Use of his Offers, and by his Help came to an Issue in the most difficult Point of my Business in the Treasury.

THE second time I was at Council, after my return from *Italy*, my Lord SUNDERLAND told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desired we might meet after Council was up. I went to his Lodgings, where he told me that Mr. Secretary COVENTRY being absolutely resolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having

having found I had long declin'd it, had now Thoughts of conſenting to Sir LIONEL JENKINS's coming into it upon a Bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without firſt letting me know his Thoughts; and aſk'd whether I had any Thing to ſay upon it. I made no Step in the World, but told his Lordſhip that the King could do nothing for me that I would take Kinder than this; that I had ſeveral Times preſs'd His Majeſty to a new Choice, and once offer'd to Name ſome to Him that I knew were fit for it; that I had reſolv'd againſt it ſo long, that His Majeſty had no Reaſon to remember any of his Engagements to me how voluntary ſoever; but that he was pleas'd to do it, was the moſt obliging

in the World; and I was resolv'd immediately to go and make him my Acknowledgments: I did so; they were extremely well taken; the King us'd me with great Kindness; and Sir LIONEL JENKINS came into the Office.

I pass'd the Winter in Town, though with much Indisposition; going sometimes to the Council, and sometimes to the Foreign Committee, but not frequently to either, and medling very little with any Thing that pass'd there; unless it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, which happen'd to be then Hot upon the Anvil; the Duke of ORMOND and Council of that Kingdom, having transmitted several Acts over to the Council here, both of Grace and Supplies, in

Or-

order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought Lord ESSEX again into Play, after ſo much Diſcontent and ſo little Attendance for ſeveral Months at Council: But his Eye and Heart had ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him Steer all by that Compaſs, and purſue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought Either likelieſt to further that End. Whenever the *Iriſh* Acts came into Council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing Twenty Difficulties in the particular Acts, and Arraigning, not only the Prudence, but common Senſe of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing againſt the aſſembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at laſt introducing Sir JAMES SHEEN to make Propoſals of

encreasing the King's Revenue there near Eighty Thousand Pounds a Year upon a new Farm to himself and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him; A Farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

THIS Scheme was ever supported by Lord ESSEX; and ever oppos'd by me, with more Sharpness than was usual to me upon any Debates; because I had found out the Cheat of the whole Thing, which Lord ESSEX had set on Foot as a great Master-piece of that Cunning, which his Friends us'd to say was his Talent, and was one for which of all other Talents I had ever the greatest Aversion. The Short of this Story was, Lord ESSEX had a mind to be Lieutenant

tenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being call'd till he came to the Government. He saw himself out at Court; and the Hopes of getting in by his Intereſt in Parliament, now delay'd by the Prorogation longer than he could ſtay: He projects this Farm with Sir JAMES SHEEN, and by him offers it to Mr. HYDE with the Advantages mention'd to the King's Revenue; but agrees with Sir JAMES, that if the Bait were ſwallowed, he ſhould upon the Concluſion of all declare, That he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but could not do it, unleſs my Lord ESSEX might be ſent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*; without which the Condition of that Kingdom could never be ſettled enough for ſuch

Advantages to the King's Service and Revenue. This I knew, under Secrecy, from a Confident of Sir JAMES SHEEN, who had told himself this whole Project and the Paces intended.

Mr. HYDE, who was at the Head of all Matters concerning the King's Revenue, had receiv'd this new Proposal, and imbrac'd it very warmly; whether prevail'd upon by the specious Shew of so great Encreases in the Revenue, or by some new Measures growing between him and Lord ESSEX in other Affairs, I never could determine; but such a Patronage at Council gave Strength to the Debates, being little oppos'd but by Sir LIONEL JENKINS and me, who laid the Matter so bare, that it drew out into Length that whole Spring; and

and the King joyn'd wholly with me in the Opinion of the Thing, and ſo far, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, His Majeſty ſent particularly to me to be there.

IN the midſt of theſe Agitations the Duke came over out of *Flanders*, and Reſolution was taken for his going into *Scotland*. I was extremely concern'd for the Duke of ORMOND, who had fallen into Danger of the Conſequences threaten'd by theſe Intrigues and Purſuits, after the moſt ſenſible Blow that could be given him by the Death of his * Son; and was both of an Age and Merits to expect no more Reverſes of Fortune, after ſo many as he had run through in the Courſe of his Loyalty. I ſaw Mr. HYDE vi-

* *The Earl of Oſſory.*

violently bent upon Sir JAMES SHEEN's imaginary Project; and I doubted, with ſome Picque to the Duke of ORMOND, and Partiality to Lord ESSEX. The King ſeem'd to grow weary of ſo much Purſuit; and Lord SUNDERLAND was indifferent in the Thing: So that I reſolv'd to try if I could Engage the Duke to ſupport the Duke of ORMOND; and the ſecond time I was with His Highneſs, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole Buſineſs and the Conſequences of it, and laid open the Secret of the Thing. The Duke ſeem'd very Favourable to Lord ESSEX, and more Indifferent to the Duke of ORMOND than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the Character of them both, which the Duke ſeem'd at laſt to allow: with the Diſtinction they de-

deſerv'd, and profeſs'd to deſire the Duke of ORMOND ſhould be continued; though if he were remov'd at any time, he ſtill ſeem'd to think Lord ESSEX the fiteſt to ſucceed him. But I found ſome Days after, by Sir LIONEL JENKINS, that His Highneſs had been very glad to find me ſo fixt in that Buſineſs to the Duke of ORMOND, and that he would give him what Support he could.

UPON the Motions of this Affair, I grew into more Attendance upon His Majeſty, and more Commerce both with Lord SUNDERLAND and Mr. HYDE, with whom I always liv'd very well, though we differ'd ſo much in Opinion upon this *Iriſh* Buſineſs. But continuing ſtill my Reſolutions of winding my ſelf

out

out of all publick Buſineſs; and to that End talking often to them of my Deſign to make a Journey to *Florence*, both upon Occaſion of my Health and Promiſe; they both propos'd to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to ſee the Country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge my ſelf again with the Ceremonies and Fatigue of an Ambaſſy; or to run again the Hazard I had done ſo often already, of being undone by thoſe Employments: That if I could reſolve on it, I did not ſee what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilſt he had ſuch as he ſeem'd to have at preſent in *Eng-*

England; nor could I see what Use any Leagues or Measures Abroad could be to Him, unless some Union at Home would enable Him to support them. This Conversation however was often renew'd between Us; and at last I found out, that to prepare for a good Session of Parliament next Winter, the Ministers were resolv'd upon all Measures that might conduce towards it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were resolv'd to send Ministers to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederates, and enter with them into the strictest Measures for the common Defence against the Power of *France*.

I found the Ministers were mighty earnest to engage me in this Ambassy, as believing my

charging my ſelf with it would give a general Opinion, both at Home and Abroad, of our Sincerity in the Thing. The King ſpoke to me, and ſeem'd very deſirous of my Undertaking it. I defended my ſelf a good while, having indeed no Opinion the Thing had a good Root, or that the Appearance of it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament: But at laſt I brought it to this Point; that I would not charge my ſelf with going to make the intended Alliance in *Spain*; but if the King ſhould think fit to conclude it here with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon Terms of mutual Satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Miniſters; the King declar'd me His Ambaſſador Extraordinary at *Madrid*; I paſs'd

my

my Privy Seal; receiv'd my Equipage, and ſpent the latter end of the Summer in the Preparations for my Journey, which were in a manner finiſh'd about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that ſince the Parliament drew ſo near, and ſo much depended upon it of all that concern'd him either Abroad or at Home, he was reſolv'd to have me ſtay at leaſt the opening of it, by which we ſhould judge of the further Progreſs.

FROM what Seeds the Diſcontents and Violent Proceedings of this laſt Seſſion grew, I have told already; but by what Motions and Degrees they came to ſuch a Height, is another Story, and may have had ſome Roots which I did not Diſcover; but what I obſerv'd was this. After the

the Duke's Return into *Flanders*, he had the King's Leave to come over again in ſome Months. The Duke of MONMOUTH came back out of *Holland* without Leave, and ſo came not to Court; and thereby ſeem'd to make himſelf the Head of thoſe that were Diſcontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Intermiſſion of Parliament. In acting this Part, he was guided by Lord SHAFTSBURY, who reſolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer; ſo as to make the Neceſſity the greater of the Parliament ſitting at the time appointed. And becauſe Boldneſs looks like Strength; to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd ſeveral Lords, and among them Lord RUSSEL, to go with him to *Weſtminſter*-Hall publickly, and

there

there at the King's Bench to preſent the Duke as a Recuſant. Though the Matter had no Conſequences in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a ſtrong one upon the Paſſions of all thoſe Perſons that were ſo publickly engag'd in this bold Pace againſt the Duke; which was breaking all Meaſures with him, and entring into the deſperate Reſolution of either Ruining His Highneſs or Themſelves: And I found it had a great Effect upon the ſmall Circle of my Acquaintance or Obſervation.

LORD ESSEX who had purſu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, by Engines at Court for Six Months paſt; began to let all that Buſineſs of Sir JAMES SHEEN cool, and to

reckon upon laying a surer Foundation for that Design, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new Commerce with Lord SHAFTSBURY; who told him in those shameless Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble your self, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland.* The Way to this Return, was to oppose the Duke's Stay here upon the several Passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the Session of Parliament. Lord HALLIFAX, tho' he fell not in with Lord SHAFTSBURY, yet was glad to make fair Weather against the Parliament then, by his Oppositions to the Duke. Lord SUNDERLAND was struck with the Boldness of the Lords Presentment in *Westminster*-Hall, and the Consequence

ſequence of ſuch Men being ſo deſperately Engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be Seconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to Support the Duke any longer, but would be forc'd to ſeperate his Intereſts from him at laſt: And he believ'd the King himſelf was of the ſame Mind. Mr. GODOLPHIN fell into the ſame Thoughts with Lord SUNDERLAND, both of the Thing it ſelf, and of the King's Mind in it: So as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay or going back into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, theſe Four joyn'd abſolutely in the Reaſons and Advices for his going away: And though the reſt of the Council

were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with theſe Four, and concluded the Thing; againſt the Duke's Will and his Friends, as I have been told: For during all theſe Tranſactions I was in the Country, with my Thoughts and Preparations wholly turn'd upon my *Spaniſh* Ambaſſy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the Reſolution I had long been fix'd in, never to enter into any Differences or Perſonal Matters between the King and his Brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general Knowledge of ſo many great Perſons having appear'd ſo publickly againſt his Highneſs in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, and ſo conſiderable Ones in the Court it ſelf and

and at the Council Table: Thoſe of the firſt Gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Excluſion; wherein they were deſperately engag'd, not only, as they profeſs'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewiſe upon that of Self-preſervation, having broken irreparably all Meaſures already with the Duke: The Generality of the Houſe of Commons were carried, partly with the Plauſibleneſs of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only againſt Popery, without any private Ends as was pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Reſolution to fall into it, upon the Obſervation of ſuch Lords of the Court having engag'd ſo far in ſending away the Duke. All the Duke of MONMOUTH's

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Friends drove it on Violently; not doubting he would lye in the Duke's Place, though no Proviſion ſeem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all theſe Circumſtances concurring, made ſo violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could Reſiſt, or any ways Divert; And as it happens upon all Occaſions, the ſmall Oppoſition made by Two or Three Men, made the Violence the greater.

BESIDES theſe general Circumſtances, there were Two more Particular and Perſonal, that ſeem'd to me to have great Influence upon the Houſe: One was, Lord RUSSEL ſetting himſelf, almoſt with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair; who was

was a Person in general Repute of an honest worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was Sir WILLIAM JONES, entring upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I Mistake not the first Day he came into the House, (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the Session began, having been engag'd in a disputed Election. And this Person having the Name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very Wise Man; besides this, of a very Rich, and of a wary or rather timerous Nature; made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain

See the Appendix.

tain and ſafe, and would at laſt be agreed on all Parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court.

THE Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was carry'd up by Lord RUSSEL to the Houſe of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the Houſe. But in the Houſe of Lords it met with another kind of Reception. The King was reſolv'd and declar'd, againſt the Bill: And though Lord SHAFTSBURY, Lord ESSEX, and as I remember about Fifteen more, were Violently for it; yet the reſt of the Houſe were Firm and Poſitive againſt it, among whom Lord HALLIFAX appear'd moſt in the Head of all Debates; and ſo it was, after long Conteſt, abſolutely thrown out. This in-

inrag'd the Houſe of Commons; and having fail'd of the only Thing they ſeem'd to have at Heart, made them fall upon Perſons; engage, firſt in the purſuit of Lord STAFFORD to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addreſſes, either upon general Diſcontents in the publick Affairs, or upon common Fame againſt particular Men.

DURING the whole Proceedings of this Seſſion of Parliament, I play'd a Part very Impertinent for a Man that had any Deſigns or Ambitions about him; but for me who had none, (and whoſe Head was fix'd either upon my Ambaſſy into *Spain*, or upon my abſolute Retirement) the only One wherein I could have ſatisfy'd my

ſelf.

ſelf. As I never enter'd into publick Buſineſs by my own Choice or Purſuit, but always call'd into it by the King or His Miniſters; ſo I never made the common Uſe of it, by ever asking either Money, Lands, or Honour of His Majeſty; though I have been often enough urg'd to it by my Friends, and invited by ſo great Degrees of Confidence and Favour as I have ſtood in with His Majeſty both often and long. I never had my Heart ſet upon any Thing in publick Affairs, but the Happyneſs of my Country, and Greatneſs of the Crown; and in Order to that, the Union of both, by which alone I thought both could be Atchiev'd. When I fell firſt into Deſpair of this, I fell firſt into a Diſtaſte of all Publick Affairs; which has been nou-

nouriſh'd by a Courſe of ſuch Accidents and Turns of Court, and Perſonal Inconſtancies or Infidelities, as I have related. By what Means I came to be ſo long Engag'd, as to ſee this Seſſion of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the Vexation and Trouble which the Courſe of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland*, depended upon the Union of His Majeſty with his Parliament, which might enable Him to make ſuch a Figure in Chriſtendom, as the Crown of *England* has done and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had ſent over Monſieur VAN LEWEN to make both Court and Country ſenſible of this Neceſſity that Chriſtendom was in; and how much all would lie at the Mercy of *France*, from the ve-

very Day they ſaw the Hopes of it fail. The Houſe of Commons met, with ſuch a Bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any thing Foreign would not be allow'd among them; nay, the mention of *Spaniſh* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and Meaſures intended by the King with other Confederates, were Laugh'd at, as Court Tricks, and too Stale to paſs any more. They fell downright upon a Point Invincible, which was the Bill of Excluſion; and in Default of that, upon Heats againſt the Government and the Miniſters, not without ſome glancing at the King. This was return'd with Heats at Court by thoſe Miniſters that were chiefly touch'd: Which were Lord HALLIFAX, who

who by a ſudden Turn, whereof I know no Account, had at the beginning of the Seſſion fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Intereſts; And Mr. HYDE, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever reckon'd upon as well as found to be firſt in that Point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much Purpoſe; only they promis'd to agree with the King upon the Draught of ſome Expedients in the Caſe, which Lord HALLIFAX had charg'd himſelf with, and ſhould be charg'd with to the Houſe of Lords, during the Heats of the Commons.

FOR my own Part, ſo ſoon as I ſaw the Bent of the Houſe of Commons, the Violence with which

which it was carry'd, and the Diſtractions it was like to Engage the Kingdom in, at a time they were ſo little in Seaſon; I gave over firſt all Hopes, and then all Thoughts upon ſo unpleaſant a Theam. In the Buſineſs of the Bill I never medl'd, nor ſo much as reaſon'd either in or out of the Houſe; having declar'd my Opinion to the King and his Miniſters, that it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe it there; nor for the King to take Notice of the Commons Addreſs upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills, or any Addreſſes upon Things of that Nature, were brought to him from both Houſes, he would Anſwer them. By this Means I thought the King was ſure of His End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as

it

it came into the House of Lords; and if he should be forc'd to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible Difference between the Two Houses, than upon any between His Majesty and the House of Commons. But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I press'd both the King and them to bring such Expedients as they told me were resolv'd on; that so we might make all the Strength we could to Support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce Things to some Temper; But these, tho' Daily talk'd of, never appear'd. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavour'd to allay the Heats on either Side; and told the King, I expected to

be

be turn'd out of the Houſe in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon. Mr. HYDE ask'd me one Day in the Council Chamber, why I came ſo ſeldom to Houſe or Council; I told him, 'twas upon SOLOMON's Advice, *neither to oppoſe the Mighty, nor go about to ſtop the Current of a River*: Upon which he ſaid, I was a Wiſe and a Quiet Man; and if it were not for ſome Circumſtances he could not help, he would do ſo too.

I do not remember to have ſpoken in the Houſe, but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*; upon the Digeſtion of the firſt Addreſs about general Grievances; and in the Caſes of my Lord Chief Juſtice NORTH and my Lord HALLIFAX being Impeach'd upon

See the Appendix.

upon common Fame: Nor at any general Councils; unleſs it were upon the Houſe of Commons Addreſs againſt Lord HALLIFAX, and upon a Debate about Diſſolving the Parliament; wherein I deſir'd the King and Council, never to lay aſide the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or ſome other Parliament, as a Matter of ſo great Neceſſity to the State of His Majeſty's Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Lord HALLIFAX anſwer'd me in few Words, That every Body was ſenſible of the Neceſſity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: And * Mr. SEYMOUR told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had ſaid. The laſt Thing I did in Houſe or

* *Afterwards Sir* E. Seymour.

Council, was to carry the King's last Answer to the Commons, containing his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke; which Secretary JENKINS had been Charg'd with the Night before at Council: But he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have had Sir ROBERT CARR, or Mr. GODOLPHIN have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themselves; upon which the King sent for me. *See the Appendix.*

I told His Majesty, I did not very well understand why a Thing agreed upon last Night at Council Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey

bey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themſelves, and to ſhew His Majeſty that I intended to play no popular Games: Upon which I took the Paper, and told the King that I was very ſenſible how much of his Confidence I formerly had, and how much I had loſt, without knowing the Occaſion; or elſe I might have had part in the conſulting this Change of what was laſt Night reſolv'd, as well as in executing it; and I would confeſs to His Majeſty, that I had not ſo good a Stomach in Buſineſs, as to be content only with *Swallowing what other People had Chew'd.* Upon which I went away, and carry'd my Meſſage to the Houſe, which was receiv'd juſt as was expected. I tell this Paſſage freely, as I do all the reſt; as the only Thing I could imagine

the King could ever take Ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or the Homelineſs of Expreſſion.

THAT which compleated my Reſolution of Receſs from all publick Buſineſs, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both Parties who could agree in nothing elſe, yet did it in this one Point of bringing Things to the laſt Extremity. Lord SHAFTSBURY and his Party, thought the Points of popular Diſcontents, and Petitions, or at leaſt, That of the King's Wants, would at laſt bring the Court to their Mercy in one Parliament or other. Thoſe Miniſters who were paſt all Meaſures with the Houſe of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats,

Heats, to bring the King to a Diſlike, and thereby to a Diſuſe of Parliaments. And by this likewiſe the Duke's Intereſt, ſeem'd at preſent only to be ſecur'd. So that where both Parties conſented in dividing to Extremity on each Side, no Man could think any longer of Uniting; nor conſequently to ſee the Crown in ſuch a Poſture as I had ever wiſh'd it, and for our Neighbours Sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more Evident at the laſt Debates, during my Aſſiſtance at the Foreign Committee, concerning the Anſwer His Majeſty ſhould return to the repeated Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Bill of Excluſion. I was of Opinion it ſhould be, That when

both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to this purpoſe, he would give them an Anſwer; but till then would Suſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Anſwer to one Houſe upon ſo weighty an Occaſion, which, for ought he knew, might be contrary to the Senſe of the other. By this Means he would be ſecure from the Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well enough, the Lords would not conſent to the Addreſs. And if the Parliament came to be Diſſolv'd, it were better for the King it ſhould break upon Differences between the Two Houſes, than between His Majeſty and them. For this would give the Nation an Opinion, that he was reſolv'd to live without Parliaments here-

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after; which might endanger, perhaps our Peace at Home, but would however ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themſelves againſt *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if this Parliament broke upon Diſputes or Differences between the Two Houſes, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with ſome of them; by which alone he could be *Great* and Safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpoſe he would on ſuch a Day call it to him: he did ſo, but the Mountain would not come;

whereupon he ſaid, that if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the Mountain; for unleſs they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all I ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Committee that were Chief in the private Meaſures taken at this Time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given the Houſe of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd; and accordingly this was reſolv'd.

HOWEVER, all theſe Conſiderations or Intereſts could not move the King to Diſſolve this Parliament, without calling another at the ſame time to meet at *Oxford* in the Spring. Whereupon, the Heads of the Univerſity at *Cambridge* ſent to me, to know

know whether I intended to ſtand again for that Election: I went to the King to Acquaint him with it, and know his Pleaſure what Anſwer I ſhould return them: He ſeem'd at firſt Indifferent, and bid me do what I would; But when I ſaid I was very indifferent too, and would do in it what His Majeſty lik'd beſt; he ſaid, in a Manner kind and familiar, that conſidering how Things ſtood at this time, he doubted my coming into the Houſe would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone, which I ſaid I would do.

WHEN I left the King, I went to my Lord SUNDERLAND, and told him what had paſs'd: who took this as the firſt certain Sign of His Majeſty's having

ving fixt his Reſolution, and left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Meaſures another Way, for the ſupply of his Treaſures in the ill Condition they were in. He knew very well, that during the laſt Seſſion, the King had always told me, that he was reſolv'd to propoſe ſome Expedients to the Houſes, upon which he had hopes they might Agree; That he had order'd Lord HALIFAX to draw them up, and had bid me reſerve my Credit in the Houſe for that Occaſion; And that if there were any Thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King he was ſure would have been glad to have had me in the Houſe. He ſaid upon it, in ſome Paſſion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he muſt confeſs I knew

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the King better than he had done; and ſo we parted.

WITHIN few Days, imploy'd wholly in my Domeſtick Concerns, and in order to the Remove I intended, I left the Town and went to SHEEN: From whence I ſent the King Word by my Son, that I would paſs the reſt of my Life like as good a Subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any publick Affairs; and deſir'd His Majeſty would not be Diſpleas'd with this Reſolution. The King very graciouſly bid him tell me, That he was not Angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a Week at SHEEN, when my Lady NORTHUMBERLAND (who liv'd

liv'd then at *Sion*) came to my Closet one Morning, and told me, that the Day before, my Lord SUNDERLAND, my Lord ESSEX's Names, and mine, were struck out of the Council; which was the first Word I heard of any such Thing; and upon which I neither made any Reflections nor Inquiries; though many others seem'd much to wonder, and inquir'd of me what could be the Reason of my being joyn'd with the other Two Lords, whose Proceedings had been very Different.

MY Lord SUNDERLAND was, during the late Session of Parliament, fallen under a great Displeasure of His Majesty; and into an outragious Quarrel with Lord HALLIFAX. The last happen'd, not only upon their di-

dividing in the Buſineſſes of the Parliament and Council; but likewiſe upon Lord SUNDERLAND's entring into new Commerce and Meaſures with Lord SHAFTSBURY; as my Lord HALLIFAX told me; and which I ſhould not have otherwiſe known: For if there were any ſuch Commerce, Lord SUNDERLAND had made it a Secret to me; as knowing too well the Averſion I always had for that Lord and the whole Courſe of his Proceedings in all Publick Affairs. But Lord SUNDERLAND told me another Reaſon of the Quarrel between him and Lord HALLIFAX; which he ſaid broke out the ſame Night a Debate aroſe at Council, concerning an Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons againſt Lord HALLIFAX, wherein Lord

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SUNDERLAND had been of Opinion, the King ſhould not yield to it. But after Council, Lord HALLIFAX went to Lord SUNDERLAND's Lodgings, where they fell into Diſcourſe of what had paſs'd; And Lord SUNDERLAND told him, that though he had given his Opinion at Council, as he thought became him; yet if ſuch an Addreſs ſhould ever be made againſt himſelf, he would certainly deſire Leave of the King to Retire, as a thing that would be for his Service. Upon this Lord HALLIFAX fell into ſuch a Paſſion, that he went out of the Room, and from that time they hardly liv'd in any common Civility where they met.

THE Refiners thought Lord HALLIFAX, who ſaw himſelf topp'd

topp'd by Lord SUNDERLAND's Credit and Station at Court, reſolv'd to make this ſudden Turn of falling in with the King, upon the Point then in Debate about the Bill of Excluſion; wherein he found the King ſteddy, and that my Lord SUNDERLAND would loſe himſelf; ſo that falling into Confidence with the King upon ſuch a Turn, he ſhould be alone Chief in the Miniſtry without Competitor. At leaſt the Reaſoners on this Matter, could find no other Ground for ſuch a Change in Lord HALLIFAX's Courſe, after what he had ſo long Steer'd, and ſo lately in having been the chief Promoter of the Duke's being ſent away to *Scotland*, juſt before the Meeting of the Parliament.

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THE King's Quarrels to my Lord SUNDERLAND, as far as I could obſerve, were chiefly Two. Firſt, his Voting in the Lords Houſe for the Bill of Excluſion, not only againſt the King's Mind, but againſt his expreſs Command; which, for a Perſon actually in his Service, and in ſuch a Poſt as Secretary of State, ſeem'd ſomething Extraordinary. And I remember, when I ſpoke to him of it, as what the King muſt reſent, and what I was Confident he would be ſteddy in, he told me, 'twas too late, for his Honour was engag'd, and he could not break it. The other was a Memorial ſent over by Mr. SYDNEY, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Penſioner FAGEL, repreſenting the ſad Conſequences Abroad of His

His Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Protestant Religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to Wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the Point of the Bill of Exclusion. This was, as I remember, the Substance; for I never heard a Word of it, either before or after it's being receiv'd at the Foreign Committee; where I was as much surpriz'd at it as any one there, but had not the same Thoughts of its Original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believ'd it a Thing directed and advis'd from hence; and, in a Word, by Lord SUNDERLAND to Mr. SYDNEY his Uncle, as a Matter that would be of Weight to induce the King to pass the Bill. But, besides

that Lord SUNDERLAND protested to me after Council, that he knew nothing of it, till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. SYDNEY, who sent the Original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe that would be a Motive to him to pass the Bill, for that it could have any other Effect than to Anger him at the *Dutch*, for meddling in a Matter that was Domestick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observ'd the Style to be of one that understood little of our Constitution. The several Expressions in the Paper, whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such Consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [*by a Stroke with a Pen*]; which shewed, the Author thought our

Acts

Acts of Parliament had been paſs'd by the King's Signing them.

THIS, and the whole Caſt of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Penſioner FAGEL; a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion, mightily concern'd for all he thought would endanger it, and beſides of great Warmth and Suddenneſs in purſuing any Thought that poſſeſs'd him. However, the King, as well as ſome of the Committee, believ'd this was of my Lord SUNDERLAND's Forge; and that many of the Heats in the Houſe of Commons had been encourag'd and rais'd to ſuch Height by his ſeeming to Favour them; which they might think he would not do, unleſs he believ'd the King

would at length comply with them.

THESE, I ſuppoſe, were the Reaſons of the Reſolution taken at Court to remove Lord SUNDERLAND, both from the Secretary's Office and the Council. What made my Lord ESSEX be joyn'd with him, is a great deal more Obvious; having ever ſince the meeting of the Parliament, run up in the greateſt Heights and neareſt Meaſures with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, both in the Bill of Exclusion and all other Matters where he interven'd, either in Debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the Bill, or ſeveral Addreſſes againſt Miniſters. How I came to be joyn'd with theſe Two Lords, by the King's

King's ordering our Names to be ſtruck out of the Council-Book at the ſame Time, I neither know, nor could ever give any Reaſon; unleſs it were what was commonly gueſs'd, of my being a Friend of the Prince of ORANGE, or of my Lord SUNDERLAND, with whom I had a very long Acquaintance, and of our Families, as well as Perſonal. For the Firſt, I could think it no Crime, conſidering how little that Prince had ever meddl'd, at leaſt to my Knowledge, in any Domeſtick Concerns of His Majeſty, during all that paſs'd ſince the firſt Heats in Parliaments here, though he had been extream ſenſible of the Conſequences they were like to have upon all his Intereſts, and neareſt Concerns at Home; which were, the Preſervation of *Flanders*

from the *French* Conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden Treaties into an absolute dependance upon that Crown.

I can give no other Reason; unless it were, that as my Lord SALISBURY had been struck out some Days before, upon his having declar'd at Council that he would come there no more; so His Majesty and His Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same Resolution as to that and all publick Affairs, though signify'd only in private to His Majesty, and with all the good Manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's Affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of my self.

NOR

NOR was this Resolution of mine taken in any Heat or Rashly, but upon the best Considerations and Knowledge I had gain'd, both of the World and of my self: By which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his Island, that he was not fit to Govern any thing but his Sheep; So by serving long in Courts, or publick Affairs, I discover'd plainly, that I was, at my Age, and in the present Conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I consider'd the World in the present posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: I knew very well the great Designs of *France*, whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal RICHELIEU, for the Conquest of *Flanders* and that Part of *Germa-*

ny which lies on this Side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had ſeiz'd *Lorrain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty for the Diviſion of *Flanders* between them, till the States ſoon found the falſe Pace they had made, by an Agreement to ſhare with the Lyon, who thereupon would be ſoon Maſter, both of the Prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this Confederacy on the ſudden, quitted the *French* in the midſt of ſo great Succeſs, and had thereby almoſt occaſion'd the Ruin of the *French* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by Tradition from a Noble Family, How that Cardinal had ſent a private Emiſſary, to Endeavour the ſame Meaſures with King CHARLES the Firſt; or at leaſt for his being Paſſive in

their

their Conqueſt of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the firſt; and being preſs'd upon the other, had anſwer'd reſolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never ſuffer the Conqueſt of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he would March himſelf in Perſon to Defend it. Upon this Anſwer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [*Did he ſay ſo? by God I'll make him pay dear for it*]; and thereupon enter'd immediately into Practices with ſome diſcontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; ſent over Two Hundred Thouſand Piſtoles to others in that Kingdom, and gave thereby a Beginning to the firſt Troubles that were rais'd there. From which Time, the Buſineſs of *France* has

has ever been to foment all Divisions of *England*, whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross their great Design. However, Cardinal MAZARIN, after having surmounted his own Dangers in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Minority; pursu'd the Plan left him by his Predecessor: And by his Measures taken with CROMWELL, and the Assistance of an Immortal Body of Six Thousand brave *English*, which were by Agreement to be continually Recruited, he made such a Progress in *Flanders*, that CROMWELL soon found the Ballance turn'd, and grown too heavy on the *French* Side; Whereupon he dispatch'd a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which he

he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them Ten Thousand to be continually Recruited, upon Condition their first Action should be to Besiege *Calais*, and when taken, to put it into his Hands. The Gentleman sent upon this Errand, was past the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the News of CROMWELL's Death; whereupon MAZARIN, having not only lost his strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ'd how that Design would never be serv'd by any Measures he could take in *England*, however it should be Govern'd, by the most Legal or most usurp'd Powers, He re-resolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, against the general Sense, both of the chief Persons in the Court

and

and the Army, but particularly against the Inſtances of Monſieur DE TURENNE, who engag'd himſelf to Conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in Two Campaigns more: But ſome Domeſtick Reaſons prevail'd with the Cardinal; beſides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life not long after the Peace was made.

THE preſent King, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the Flower of his Youth, and inſtructed in the School of ſo able a Miniſter, began to purſue the great Deſign, by the Three Paces moſt neceſſary to Advance it; which were, The wiſe Management of his Revenue, and heaping up a Maſs of Treaſure; The Encreaſe of his Naval Force, by building many great

great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; And by the Purchaſe of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aſpir'd to the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, or to his Greatneſs at Sea; having no other Haven upon the Channel: After this, by fomenting on both Sides the Seeds of Diſſention between us and the *Dutch*, which were ſprung from other cover'd Roots. He ſaw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665; and with ſuch Honour and Succeſſes, that the *Dutch* would ſoon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* firſt aſſiſted them at Land, againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*; and then declar'd War againſt us, and ſet out his Fleet for Aſſiſting the *Dutch*. This made the War more equally Ballanc'd, and thereby laſt; till *France* taking Advantage

at

at our Division, invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surprise of the unprepar'd *Spaniards*, in Two Campaigns carry'd the most considerable Frontier Places on both Sides, as *Douay*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, on the one Side; *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the rest of *Flanders* at the Mercy of another Campaign. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at these Successes of so mighty a Neighbour so near their own Doors; and We were spighted at the *French* having declar'd War against us, in Favour of *Holland*, contrary to our Expectations; and both together contributed to the Peace at *Breda* in the end of the Year 1667, and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the Triple Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* stopp'd their Ca-

Career in *Flanders*, and made Overtures of Peace with *Spain*; by the offer of an Alternative, either to retain their Conquests in *Flanders*, or else the whole County of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; And the *Spaniards* fright-ned at this Hardship upon them, from Neighbours who they thought had as much Interest as they to preserve *Flanders*, chose the worst, which was to leave the Frontiers of *Flanders* in the *French* Hands; on purpose to give Us and *Holland* the greater Jealousie of *France*, and in Hopes thereby to Engage us all in a War with that Crown. And upon these Terms the Peace was made at *Aix la Chapelle* in 1668.

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AFTER this, *France* turn'd all their Counſels to break the Meaſures between Us and *Holland*, which gave a Stop to their great Deſign. The *Dutch* were Stanch; but we gave Way by the Corruption of our Miniſters, and the *French* Practices upon the Diſpoſitions of our Court; which at length engag'd us in a joynt War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the Amazement of all Men, both Abroad and at Home, and almoſt to the utter Ruin of that State; Till the Empire and *Spain*, rows'd by the Danger of *Holland*, which muſt have ended in that of *Flanders* and all the *German* Provinces on this Side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*; which gave them ſome Breath, and car-

carry'd the Scene of the War into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the ſame Time, the Diſcontents of the People and Parliament at the War; and the Neceſſity of declaring it againſt *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continu'd longer in it; prevail'd with the King to make a ſeperate Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Mediation to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at laſt in a Peace there, concluded in 1678: Whereby a Frontier was left to the *Spaniſh Netherlands* on the *Brabant* Side, by Reſtitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to ſatisfy the *Dutch*: But all that remain'd on the Side of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the laſt War, were by this Trea-

ty left in their Poſſeſſion; beſides great Pretences by Dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alſace*; ſo as *Flanders* was left at their Mercy, whenever We or *Holland* ſhould Abandon its Defence. And, finding both Nations in general but too ſenſible of our Intereſt on that Side, the Councils of *France* began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they were Encourag'd by our Factions, and the Neceſſities of Money into which they had drawn the King.

THESE were the Progreſſes which *France* had made in their great Deſign, by Two Wars and Two General Treaties of Peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd more Victorious than their Arms had been. But they had made another,

yet more Important than either, by their Practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*, having gain'd the Majority of Voices there for the Succeſſion of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG to that Principality, whenever the preſent Elector ſhould fail, who is Old and Infirm, and has for ſome Years paſt deceiv'd the World by living ſo long. Prince WILLIAM, though a *German*, yet having long Devoted himſelf to the *French* Intereſts, and been Refuged and Supported by that Crown againſt the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *French-man* as any Biſhop of that Kingdom; ſo as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be abſolute Maſter of that Principality; and thereby caſt Shackles, not only upon the o-

ther Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by Bordering upon their inland Provinces, which are most Expos'd and hard to be Defended: 'Tis said, he is likewise assur'd of the Chapter of *Liege*, in Favour of the same Prince; which if true, and this Principality fall likewise under the same Dominion, upon the Death of the present Elector, *France* will then surround the Frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all Commerce, or Means of Defence, between them and LUXEMBOURG; that they will not have above the Work of one Campaign to draw the Net over the rest of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great Cities there; After which, the rest must follow, and thereby *Holland* be left

to

to take what Measures they can with *France*, and become at best a Maritime Province to that Crown; tho', perhaps, under the Name of a Free State (for fear of Dispeopling their Country), but with such Dependance as will leave *France* the Use both of their Ships and Money, upon Occasion, in other Parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon such an Encrease of the *French* Territory, and Land- as well as Naval-Power, is easy to Conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous Conjunction of Counsels, as well as Interests, with all the late Confederates; and by a firm Union between the Court and the Nation upon one common Bottom, both at Home and Abroad, and chiefly for the

Preſervation of *Flanders* againſt the *French* Deſigns.

I eaſily diſcover'd how fit a Poſture we were in to engage in ſuch Reſolutions. The Nation divided into Two ſtrong Factions with the greateſt Heats and Animoſities, and ready to break out into Violence upon the firſt Occaſion. The Heads on both Sides deſiring it, as grown paſt all Temper or Compoſure. The King involv'd in ſuch Neceſſities and Diſorders of his Revenue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon ſeeking them from *France*; which would end in ſuch Meaſures with that Crown, as would leave them at Liberty to purſue their great Deſign by new Attempts upon their Neighbours; who without the Support

port of *England*, muſt give Way, either by weak Defences, or ſubmiſſive Treaties.

UPON the Survey of all theſe Circumſtances, Conjunctures, and Diſpoſitions, both at Home and Abroad, I concluded in cold Blood, That I could be of no further Uſe or Service to the King my Maſter, and my Country, whoſe true Intereſts I always thought were the ſame, and would be both in Danger when they came to be divided, and for that Reaſon had ever endeavour'd the Uniting them; And had compaſs'd it, if the Paſſions of ſome few Men had not lain fatally in the Way, ſo as to raiſe Difficulties that I ſaw plainly were never to be ſurmounted. Therefore upon the whole, I took that firm Reſolu-

tion, in the End of the Year 1680, and the Interval between the *Weſtminſter* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge my ſelf more with any publick Employments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in that Poſture take my Fortune with my Country, whatever it ſhould prove: Which as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that attend Humane Affairs; and the Chances of every Day, to which the greateſt Lives, as well as Actions are Subject; ſo I ſhall not trouble my ſelf ſo much as to Conjecture: *Fata viam inveniant.*

BESIDES all theſe publick Circumſtances; I conſider'd my ſelf in my own Humour Temper and Diſpoſitions, which a Man may Diſguiſe to others, though

though very hardly, but cannot to himſelf. I had learn'd by living long in Courts and publick Affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found, the Arts of a Court were Contrary to the Franckneſs and Openneſs of my Nature; and the Conſtraints of publick Buſineſs too great for the Liberty of my Humour and my Life. The common and proper Ends of Both, are, the Advancement of Mens Fortunes; and That I never minded; having as much as I needed, and which is more, as I deſired. The Talent of gaining Riches, I ever deſpis'd; as obſerving it to belong to the moſt deſpiſable Men in other Kinds: And I had the Occaſions of it ſo often in my Way, if I would have made Uſe of them, that I grew to Diſdain them; as a Man does

does Meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to Service for nothing but Wages, nor endure to be Fetter'd in Buſineſs when I thought it was to no purpoſe. I knew very well, the Arts of a Court, are, to talk the preſent Language, to ſerve the preſent Turn, and to follow the preſent Humour of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all theſe I found my ſelf ſo incapable, that I could not talk a Language I did not mean, nor ſerve a Turn I did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly againſt my own. Beſides, I have had in Twenty Years Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Princes, the Caprices of Fortune, the Corruption of Miniſters, the Violence of Factions, the Unſteddyneſs of Counſels, and

and the Infidelity of Friends; Nor do I think the reſt of my Life enough to make any new Experiments.

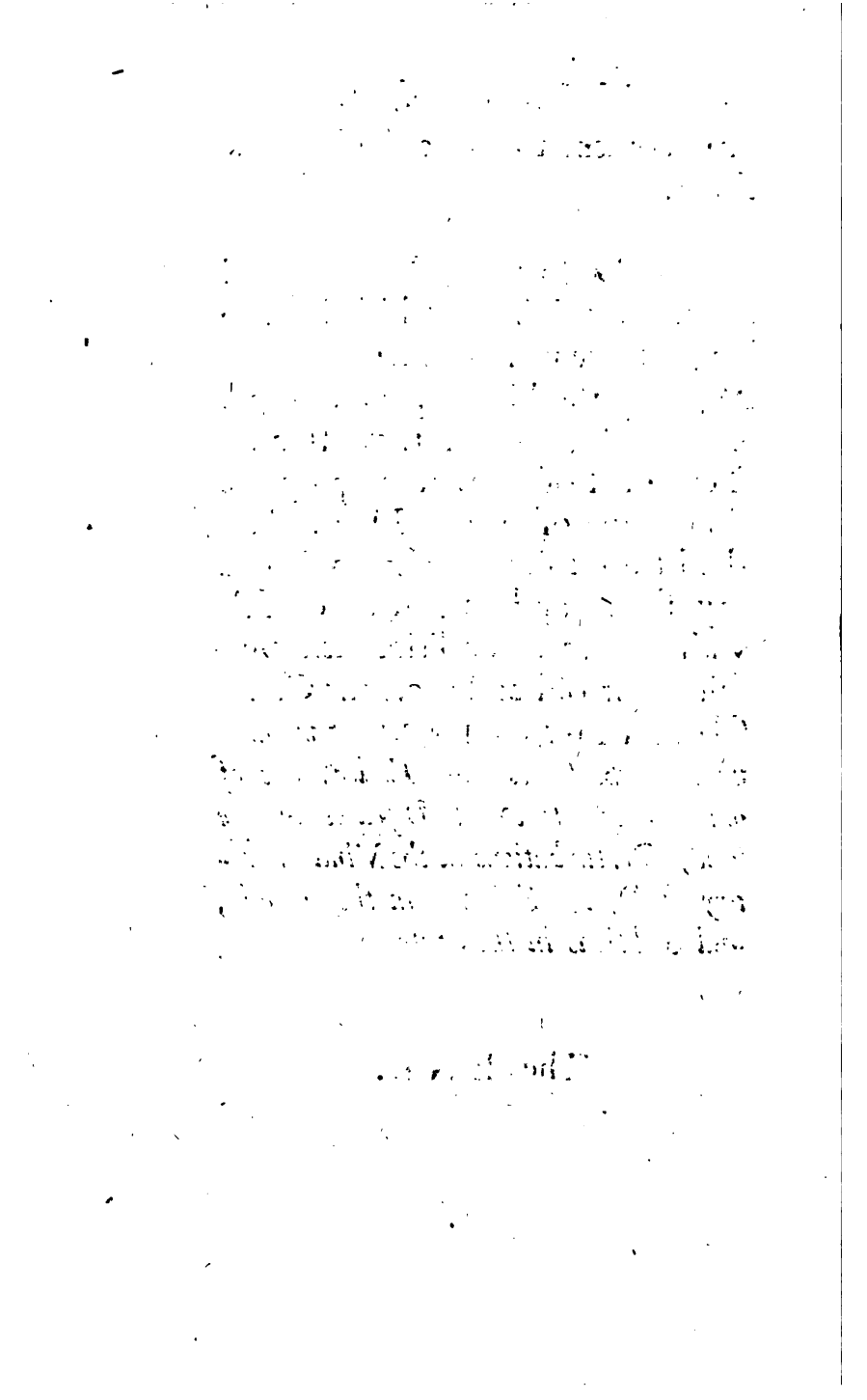
FOR the Eaſe of my own Life, if I know my ſelf, it will be infinitely more in the retir'd, than it has been in the buſie Scene: For no good Man can with any Satisfaction, take part in the Diviſions of his Country, that knows and conſiders, as I do, what they have coſt *Athens*, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Florence*, *Germany*, *France* and *England*. Nor can the wiſeſt Man foreſee how ours will end, or what they are like to coſt the reſt of Chriſtendom as well as our ſelves. I never had but Two Aims in publick Affairs; One, to ſee the King great, as he may be by the Hearts of his Peo-

People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Conſtitutions of this Kingdom: The other, in caſe our Factions muſt laſt, yet to ſee a Revenue Eſtabliſh'd for the conſtant maintaining a Fleet of Fifty Men of War, at Sea or in Harbour, and the Seamen in conſtant Pay; which would be at leaſt our Safety from Abroad, and make the Crown ſtill conſider'd in any Foreign Alliances, whether the King and His Parliaments ſhould agree or not in undertaking any great or National War. And ſuch an Eſtabliſhment I was in Hopes the laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter* might have agreed in with the King, by adding ſo much of a new Fund to Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year out of the preſent Cuſtoms. But theſe have both fail'd, and I am

am content to have fail'd with them.

AND ſo I take Leave of all thoſe Airy Viſions which have ſo long buſied my Head about Mending the World; and at the ſame Time, of all thoſe ſhining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of Buſie Men: And ſhall turn mine wholly to Mend my ſelf; and, as far as conſiſts with a private Condition, ſtill purſuing that old and excellent Counſel of PYTHAGORAS, that *we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to avoid Diſeaſes in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Dyet, Factions in the Houſe, and Seditions in the State.*

The END.



The APPENDIX: Containing the Pieces referr'd to in theſe Memoirs.

A Declaration relating to the Eſtabliſhment of the New Privy Council, mention'd Page 21.

At the Court at *Whitehall*, the 21ſt of *April* 1679.

PRESENT.

The KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

HIS *Majeſty having Caus'd the Privy Council to Meet Yeſterday Extraordinary, was then pleas'd to Or-*

Order the Lord Chancellour of England *to Read to them the following Declaration.*

My Lords,

HIS Majesty hath call'd You together at this Time, to Communicate unto You a Resolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to His Crown and Government: And which He hopes will prove of the greatest Satisfaction and Advantage to His Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; And therefore He doubts not of your Approbation, however you may seem concern'd in it.

IN the first Place, His Majesty gives you all Thanks for your Service to Him here; And for all the good Advices you have given

given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Diſpatch that are neceſſary in many great Affairs. This forc'd him to uſe a ſmaller Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and ſometimes the Advices of ſome few among them (upon ſuch Occaſions) for many Years paſt. He is ſorry for the ill Succeſs he has found in this Courſe, and ſenſible of the ill Poſture of Affairs from That and ſome unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealouſies and Diſſatisfaction among His good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for thoſe Dangers we have Reaſon to fear, both at Home and Abroad.

THESE His Majesty hopes may be yet prevented, by a Course of Wise and Steady Counsels for the future; and these Kingdoms grow again to make such a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath resolv'd to lay aside the Use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committees, for the general Direction of His Affairs: And to Constitute such a Privy Council, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Consultation and Digestion of all Business, both Domestick and Foreign; but also by the Choice of them, out of the several Parts this State is Compos'd of, may be

be the beſt inform'd in the true Conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to counſel Him in all the Affairs and Intereſts of this Crown and Nation. And by the conſtant Advice of ſuch a Council, His Majeſty is reſolv'd hereafter to govern His Kingdoms; together with the frequent Uſe of His great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true Antient Conſtitution of this State and Government.

NOW for the greater Dignity of this Council, His Majeſty reſolves their conſtant Number ſhall be limited to Thirty; And for their greater Authority, there ſhall be Fifteen of His chief Officers, who ſhall be Privy Counſellors by their Places; And for the other Fifteen, he will chooſe Ten out of the ſeveral Ranks of

the Nobility; and Five Commoners of the Realm; whoſe known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem in the Nation, ſhall render them without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or Betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of Adviſing him ill.

IN the Firſt Place therefore, and to take Care of the Church, His Majeſty will have the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, for the Time being. And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Chancellour, and one of the Lord Chief Juſtices. For the Navy and Stores (wherein conſiſts the Chief Strength and Safety of the Kingdom) the Admiral and Maſter of the Ordnance. For the Treaſury, the Treaſurer

and

and Chancellour of the Exchequer (or whenever any of these Charges are in Commission, then the first Commissioner to serve here in their Room), The rest of the Fifteen shall be the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of His Houshold, the Groom of the Stole, and the Two Secretaries of State: And these shall be all the Offices of His Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be Annex'd. The others His Majesty has resolv'd, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends besides, to have such Princes of His Blood as he shall at any time call to this Board, being here in Court: A President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: And the Secretary of *Scotland*,

when any ſuch ſhall be here. But theſe being uncertain, he reckons not of the conſtant Number of Thirty, which ſhall never be exceeded.

TO make way for this New Council, His Majeſty hath now reſolv'd to Diſſolve this Old One; And does hereby diſſolve it, and from this time excuſes your further Attendance here: But with his repeated Thanks for your Service hitherto, and with the Aſſurance of His Satisfaction in You, ſo far that He ſhould not have parted with You, but to make Way for this New Conſtitution, which he takes to be, as to the Number and Choice, the moſt Proper and Neceſſary for the Uſes he intends them. And as moſt of You have Offices in His Service, and all of You particular

lar Shares in His Favour and good Opinion; ſo He deſires You will continue to Exerciſe, and Deſerve them, with the ſame Diligence and good Affections that You have hitherto done; and with Confidence of His Majeſty's Kindneſs to You, and of thoſe Teſtimonies you ſhall receive of it upon other Occaſions.

THEREFORE, upon the preſent Diſſolution of this Council, His Majeſty Appoints and Commands all thoſe Officers he hath Named, to attend Him here to Morrow at Nine in the Morning, as His Privy-Council; together with thoſe other Perſons he deſigns to make up the Number, and to each of whom he has already Signed particular Letters to that Purpoſe; and Commands the Lord Chancellour to ſee them

Iſſued out accordingly; Which is the Form He intends to uſe, and that hereafter they ſhall be Signed in Council, ſo that nothing may be done unadviſedly in the Choice of any Perſon, to a Charge of ſo great Dignity and Importance to the Kingdom.

AND in purſuance thereof, His Majeſty did this Day declare, That he had made Choice of the ſeveral Perſons hereafter Named, to be of his Privy-Council.

The

The NAMES of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council.

HIS Highneſs Prince *Rupert.*

Dr. *William Sancroft*, Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury.*

Heneage Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellour of *England.*

Anthony Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council.

Arthur Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy Seal.

Chriſtopher Duke of *Albemarle.*

James Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe.

Henry Duke of *New-Caſtle.*

John Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland.*

James

James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold.

Charles Lord Marqueſs of *Wincheſter.*

Henry Lord Marqueſs of *Worceſter.*

Henry Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.

James Earl of *Salisbury.*

John Earl of *Bridgewater.*

Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Arthur Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.

John Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole.

Thomas Lord Viſcount *Falconberg.*

George Lord Viſcount *Halliſax.*

Henry Lord Biſhop of *London.*

John Lord *Roberts.*

Den-

Denzil Lord *Hollis.*
William Lord *Ruſſel.*
William Lord *Cavendiſh.*
Henry Coventry Eſq; one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Sir *Francis North*, Kt. Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.
Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the *Bath*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.
Sir *John Ernley*, Kt. Chancellour of the Exchequer.
Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Kt. Maſter of the Ordnance.
Sir *William Temple*, Baronet.
Edward Seymour, Eſq;
Henry Powle, Eſq;

AND His Majeſty commanded ſuch of them as were then preſent, to be Sworn, and to take their Places at the Board accordingly.

THE

THE Right Honourable ANTHONY Earl of SHAFTSBURY, who was by His Majesty's Special Command Sworn Lord President of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, took his Place at the Board accordingly.

HIS Majesty was this Day also pleased to declare, that he intended to make

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the *Bath*.
Daniel Finch, Esq;
Sir *Thomas Lee*, Baronet.
Sir *Humphrey Winch*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Meers*, Baronet.
Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners, for the Execution of the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, who shall only attend that Business.

HIS

HIS Majeſty was alſo pleas'd to Declare, that he would have all his Affairs here Debated freely, of what kind ſoever they were; and therefore abſolute Secrecy.

HIS Majeſty was alſo pleas'd to Declare, That he would communicate this Alteration of the Council, unto both Houſes of Parliament in a few Words.

THE Expedients mention'd by the Author in Page 34 and ſome other Parts of theſe Memoirs, met no Succeſs in the Houſe of Commons; who upon the Bill of Excluſion being thrown out by the Lords, had ſeveral other Expedients offer'd them by ſome of their own Members, but

but could not fix upon any that were thought Sufficient. One Expedient was, to have a Bill brought in for the Association of all His Majesty's Protestant Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*: A Third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise propos'd, that the Prince of ORANGE should be joyn'd in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown: With several other Schemes, which all prov'd Abortive: So that the the House of Commons began to Reassume the Thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which End they presented an Address, *December* 15, 1680. The King's Message in Answer to this Address, *January* 4, 1680-1. was that which the Author was commanded

manded to carry to the Houſe as he tells us Page 130. And becauſe it may give the Reader ſome Light into the Affairs and Diſpoſitions of thoſe Times, the Addreſs and the King's Anſwer are here ſubjoyn'd.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the Houſe of Commons preſented to His Majeſty, in Anſwer to His Majeſty's Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, upon the Fifteenth Day of* December, 1680.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, have taken into our ſerious Conſideration,

tion, Your Majeſty's Gracious Speech to both Your Houſes of Parliament, on the Fifteenth of this Inſtant *December*; and do with all the grateful Senſe of Faithful Subjects, and ſincere Proteſtants, acknowledge Your Majeſty's great Goodneſs to Us, in renewing the Aſſurances You have been pleaſed to give us of your readineſs to concurr with us in any Means for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and Your Gracious Invitation of us to make our Deſires known to Your Majeſty.

BUT with Grief of Heart we cannot but obſerve, that to theſe Princely Offers, Your Majeſty has been adviſ'd (by what ſecret Enemies to Your Majeſty and Your People, we know not) to Annex a Reſervation, which

if

if inſiſted on, in the Inſtance to which alone it is Applicable, will render all Your Majeſty's other Gracious Inclinations of no Effect or Advantage to us. Your Majeſty is pleaſed thus to limit Your Promiſe of concurrence in the Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, that they may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent: And we do humbly inform Your Majeſty, that no Interruption of that Deſcent has been endeavour'd by us, except only the Deſcent upon the Perſon of the Duke of YORK, who, by the wicked Inſtruments of the Church of *Rome*, has been manifeſtly Perverted to their Religion. And we do humbly repreſent to Your Majeſty, as the Iſſue of our moſt deliberate

Thoughts and Conſultations, that for the Papiſts to have their Hopes continued, that a Prince of that Religion ſhall ſucceed in the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, is utterly inconſiſtent with the Safety of Your Majeſty's Perſon, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Proſperity, Peace, and Welfare, of Your Proteſtant Subjects.

THAT Your Majeſty's Sacred Life is in continual Danger, under the Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor, is evident, not only from the Principles of thoſe Devoted to the Church of *Rome*, which allow that an Heretical Prince (and ſuch they term all Proteſtant Princes) Excommunicated and Depoſed by the Pope, may be Deſtroy'd and Murther'd; but alſo from the Teſtimonies given in the Proſecution of

of the horrid *Popiſh Plot*, againſt divers Traitors attainted for deſigning to put thoſe accurſed Principles into Practice againſt Your Majeſty.

FROM the expectation of this Succeſſion, has the Number of Papiſts in Your Majeſty's Dominions ſo much increaſed within theſe few Years, and ſo many been prevail'd with to Deſert the true Proteſtant Religion, that they might be prepar'd for the Favours of a *Popiſh* Prince, aſſoon as he ſhould come to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown: And while the ſame Expectation laſts, many more will be in the ſame Danger of being perverted.

THIS it is that has harden'd the *Papiſts* of this Kingdom, Animated and Confederated by their *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, to

make a common Purſe, provide Arms, make Application to Foreign Princes, and ſollicite their Aid, for impoſing Popery upon us; and all this even during Your Majeſty's Reign, and while Your Majeſty's Government and the Laws were our Protection.

IT is Your Majeſty's Glory and true Intereſt, to be the Head and Protector of all *Proteſtants*, as well Abroad as at Home: But if theſe Hopes remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt, which ſhall give Confidence to Your Majeſties Allies, to joyn ſo vigorouſly with Your Majeſty, as the State of that Intereſt in the World now requires, while they ſee this Proteſtant Kingdom in ſo much Danger of a Po-

Popiſh Succeſſor; by whom at the preſent, all their Councils and Actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom, (if he ſhould ſucceed) they are ſure to be deſtroy'd?

WE have thus humbly laid before Your Majeſty, ſome of thoſe great Dangers and Miſchiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor; the certain and unſpeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects and their Poſterity, if ſuch a Prince ſhould Inherit, are more alſo than we can well Enumerate.

OUR Religion, which is now ſo dangerouſly ſhaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to Protect or Defend it.

THE Execution of old Laws muſt ceaſe, and it will be vain to expect new Ones. The moſt ſacred Obligations of Contracts and Promiſes (if any ſhould be given) that ſhall be judged to be againſt the Intereſt of the Romiſh Religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from Argument and Experience elſewhere, but from the ſad Experience this Nation once had on the like Occaſion.

IN the Reign of ſuch a Prince, the Pope will be acknowledg'd Supream (though the Subjects of this Kingdom have Sworn the contrary) and all Cauſes, either as Spiritual, or in order to Spiritual Things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

THE Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all ſuch Proteſtants, as valuſe their Souls and their Religion

gion more than their ſecular Concernments, will be adjudged Forfeited.

TO all this we might add, That it appears in the Diſcovery of the Plot, that Foreign Princes were invited to Aſſiſt in ſecuring the Crown to the Duke of YORK; with Arguments from his great Zeal to eſtabliſh Popery, and to Extirpate Proteſtants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and ſuch will expect Performance accordingly.

WE further humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, in Your great Wiſdom to conſider, Whether in Caſe the Imperial Crown of this Proteſtant Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the Duke of YORK; the oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to his poſſeſſing it, may not only endanger the

farther Deſcent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it ſelf.

For theſe Reaſons, we are moſt humble Petitioners to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, That in tender Commiſeration of Your poor Proteſtant People, Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd to depart from the Reſervation in your ſaid Speech; and when a Bill ſhall be tendred to Your Majeſty, in a Parliamentary way, to diſable the Duke of YORK from inheriting the Crown, Your Majeſty will give Your Royal Aſſent thereto; and, as neceſſary to fortify and defend the ſame, that Your Majeſty will likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to Aſſent to an Act whereby Your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects may be enabled to Aſſociate themſelves for the Defence of Your Majeſty's

jeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

THESE Requeſts we are conſtrain'd humbly to make to Your Majeſty, as of abſolute Neceſſity, for the ſafe and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.

WITHOUT theſe Things, the Alliances of *England* will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to Your Majeſty's Service.

AS ſome farther Means for the preſervation both of our Religion and Property, We are humble Suiters to Your Majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion,

ligion. And that they may hold both their Offices and Sallaries, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint.* That (ſeveral Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace, fitly qualified for thoſe Employments, having been of late Diſplaced, and others put in their Room who are Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery) ſuch only may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant as are Perſons of Integrity and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo ſo qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Eſtates, and Intereſt in their Country.

THAT none may be employ'd as Military Officer, or Officers in Your Majeſty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience,

Cou-

Courage, and Affection to the Proteſtant Religion.

THESE our humble Requeſts being Obtained, we ſhall on our part be ready to Aſſiſt Your Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting your Majeſty's Fleet into ſuch a Condition, as it may preſerve Your Majeſty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

IF Your Majeſty hath or ſhall make any neceſſary Alliances for Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and Intereſt and Security of this Kingdom, this Houſe will be ready to Aſſiſt and Stand by Your Majeſty in the Support of the ſame.

AFTER this our Humble Anſwer to Your Majeſty's Gracious Speech, we hope no evil Inſtruments whatſoever ſhall be able

able to leſſen Your Majeſty's Eſteem of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majeſty's Service; but that Your Majeſty will always retain in Your Royal Breaſt, that favourable Opinion of us Your Loyal Commons, that thoſe other good Bills which we have now under Conſideration, conducing to the Great Ends we have before mention'd; as alſo all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which ſhall from Time to Time be tendred for Your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent; ſhall find Acceptance with Your Majeſty.

His

His Majeſty's Gracious Meſſage to the Commons in Parliament, January 4. 168$\frac{0}{1}$.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majeſty receiv'd the Addreſs of this Houſe, with all the Diſpoſition they could wiſh to comply with Their reaſonable Deſires; but upon peruſing it, He is ſorry to ſee Their Thoughts ſo wholly fix'd upon the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the ſuppreſſing of Popery will be ineffectual: His Majeſty is confirm'd in his Opinion againſt that Bill, by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks

thinks there remains nothing more for Him to ſay in Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, but to recommend to Them the Conſideration of all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; in which they have no Reaſon to doubt of His Concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to him in a Parliamentary Way; And that they would conſider the preſent State of the Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Chriſtendom, in ſuch a Manner, as may enable Him to preſerve *Tangier*, and ſecure His Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

'BUT this Anſwer of the 'King's was ſo far from giving 'Satisfaction, that the ſame Day

'it

'it was Read in the House, af-
'ter long Debate, and a Despair
'of any effectual Expedients, the
'Commons came to the follow-
'ing Resolutions.

Resolv'd, That it is the Opini-
on of this House, that there is
no Security nor Safety for the
Protestant Religion, the King's
Life, or Government of this Na-
tion, without passing a Bill for
disabling JAMES Duke of
YORK to inherit the Imperial
Crown of this Realm, and Do-
minions and Territories there-
unto belonging; and to rely up-
on any other Means and Reme-
dies without such a Bill, is not
only Insufficient, but Danger-
ous.

Resolv'd, That His Majesty in
his last Message, having assur'd
this

this Houſe of his readineſs to concur in all other Means for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, That until a Bill be likewiſe paſs'd for excluding the Duke of YORK, this Houſe cannot give any Supply to His Majeſty, without Danger to His Majeſty's Perſon, extream Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this Houſe is entruſted.

'THESE Reſolutions were 'follow'd by Votes of Addreſſes 'againſt ſeveral Perſons; and the 'Heats ſtill encreaſing in the Houſe 'of Commons, the King Three 'Days after firſt Prorogued the 'Parliament, and the next Week 'Diſſolv'd it by Proclamation.

'Page 119.

'Page 119. Sir WILLIAM JONES was reputed one of the beſt Speakers in the Houſe, and was very Zealous in his Endeavours for promoting the Bill of Excluſion. He was a Perſon of great Piety and Virtue, and having taken an Affection to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, was ſorry to ſee him employ'd in the Delivery of ſo unacceptable a Meſſage to the Houſe: The Subſtance of what he ſaid to the Author upon it was this; That *for Himſelf he was Old and Infirm, and expected to Die ſoon: But you*, ſaid he, *will in all probability live to ſee the whole Kingdom Lament the Conſequences of this Meſſage you have now brought us from the King.*

'Page 128. What the Author ſpoke in the Houſe, does not only relate to the Buſineſs of

Tangier, but likewiſe to the Bill of Excluſion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I ſhew'd the Speech to the Author, who as far as his Memory could ſerve him, allow'd it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the Author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And ſince Part of it relates to ſome Paſſages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to inſert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it, than the Buſineſs of *Tangier*, I think. As Affairs now ſtand, the moſt part of Chriſtendom is concern'd in it, I am ſure all the Proteſtants: And therefore, I hope, your Patience will hold out,

out, to have the whole Circumſtances of it fairly Examin'd: For the Arguments that have been offer'd in the conſideration of this Meſſage, have inlarged the Debate further than was at firſt intended, and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in ſome Meaſure, before you, inſtead of that one particular Buſineſs of *Tangier*; ſo that now what Reſolve you make will be a Diſcovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving Money for Alliances and all other Occaſions; upon which Reſult the good or bad Succeſs of this Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy Member that ſpoke before, (though many are of a different Opini-

on) that it is not of any great Uſe to us upon the account of any Advantage we ſhall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; becauſe of the Diſadvantages we ſhould receive by it, if it ſhould fall into the Hands either of the Turk or Spaniard, but eſpecially the French; who will not only be thereby enabled to Fetter us, as to our Trade in the *Levant*, but to curb alſo all other Nations whatſoever; and be ſuch an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd, both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very Cautious how we weaken the Security we now have, that it ſhall not fall into his Hands. But if the Mole and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwiſe reduced

ced into its firſt Chaos, I think, conſidering the Charge it will coſt keeping, *England* would not be much the worſe for it; but to move you to conſider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, becauſe the Moors have ſo Beſieg'd it, that the firſt thing that muſt be done, whether in order to keep it or deſtroy it, is, to beat them off, by ſome ſpeedy Supplies which muſt be preſently ſent; or elſe the Town, according to the beſt Information come from thence, is like to be loſt. And, Sir, I think this ſingle Conſideration may be perſwaſive to move you to give ſome ſuch Supply as may be preciſely neceſſary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A ſmall Sum of Money, in compariſon of what this Houſe hath formerly given, may

be ſufficient to ſatisfie His Majeſty's Expectation, and ſecure the Place too. But I muſt confeſs, Sir, it is not the Conſideration of *Tangier* that makes me preſs you to it; but the deplorable State of the Proteſtants Abroad. Sir, I have had the Honour to ſerve His Majeſty in ſome publick Imployments, and by that Means may be a little more ſenſible of the State of Affairs, in Reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Neceſſity of uſing my beſt Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir, *I am Confident the Eyes of all* Europe *are upon this Parliament; and not only the Proteſtants Abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who ſtand in Fear of the Power of* France) *do*

do think themſelves as much concern'd in the Succeſs of this Parliament, as this Houſe; and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof. This, Sir, as well as the Neceſſities of our Affairs at Home, make me trouble you at this time, to deſire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occaſion in His Majeſty any diſlike to this Houſe. Whatever you do as to the Buſineſs of Money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your Addreſs, of the Lords having caſt out your Bill, for we have no Reaſon to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of ſo great Importance, without a Conference, was in my humble Opinion very Strange, and contrary to the uſual Proceedings of

that Houſe. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary Way. For by this Means we may obviate all Miſunderſtandings with His Majeſty about this Affair; and I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this Houſe, upon which the welfare, not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, doth much depend.

SIR, His Majeſty in his Meſſage puts you in Mind of giving Advice, as well as Money; I think, if we make that Expreſſion the Ground of our Addreſs, we may Naturally graft very good Things thereon, eſpecially what may conduce to the Preſervation of a fair Correſpondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot ſave a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to*

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Ruin it; and though Parliaments alone cannot ſave this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to Ruin it. And therefore we cannot be too Circumſpect in what we do. It is our Fortune to ſit here in a Critical time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Proteſtant Religion Abroad need our Continuance; and for the ſame Reaſon we may juſtly fear that there are thoſe who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage; and then I doubt not but His Majeſty's Care and Goodneſs, will at laſt overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Seſſion to a happy Concluſion.

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